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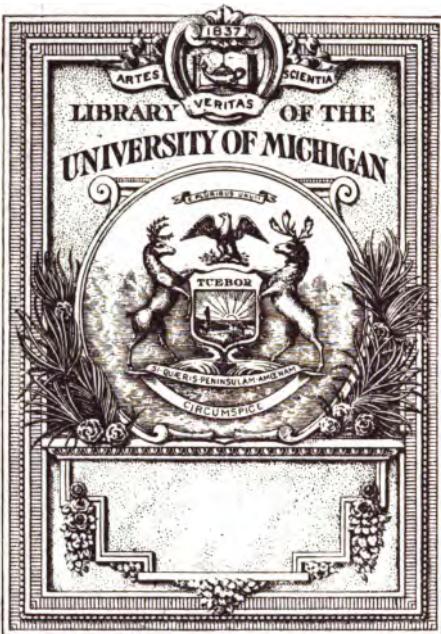
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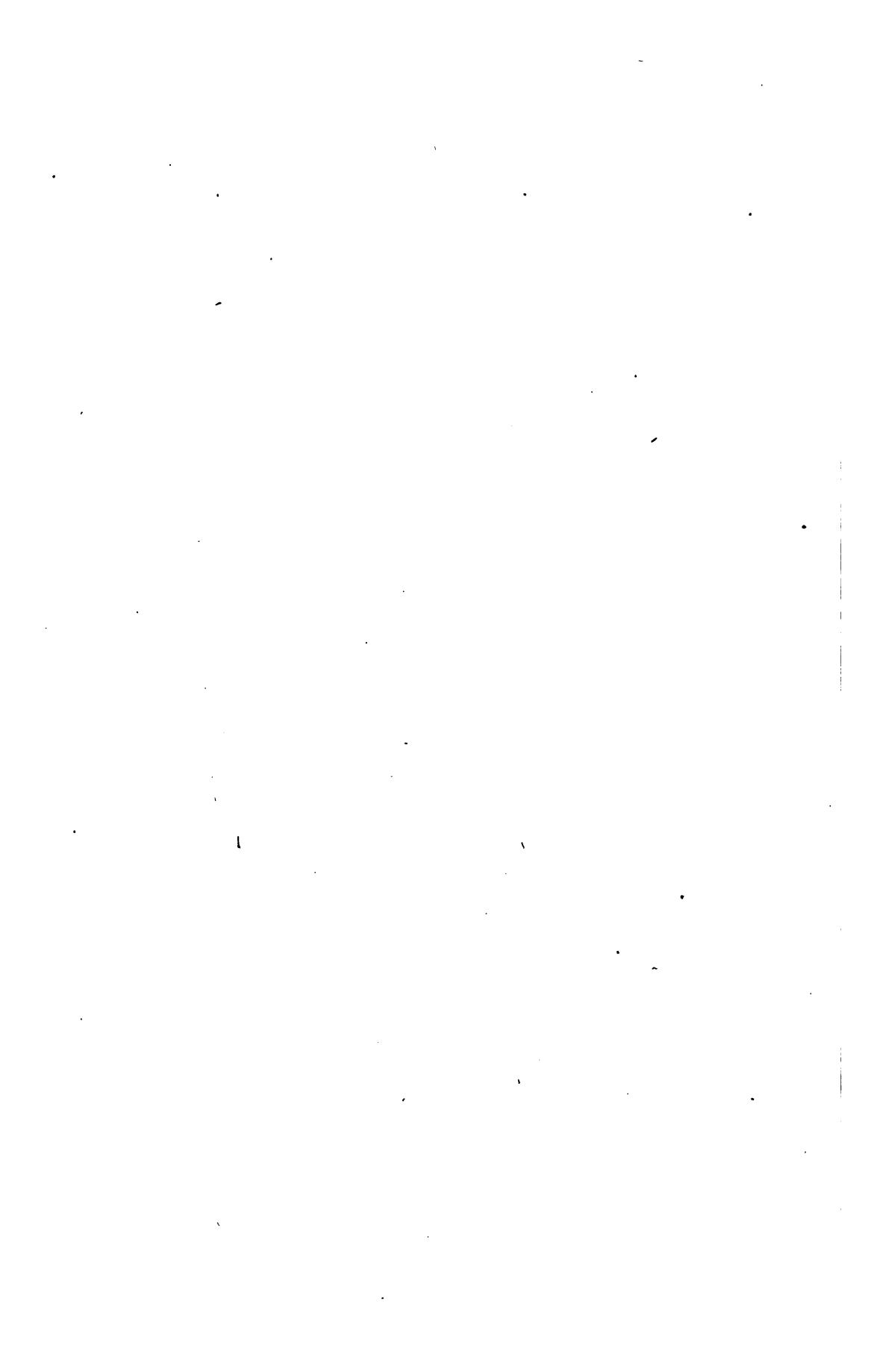
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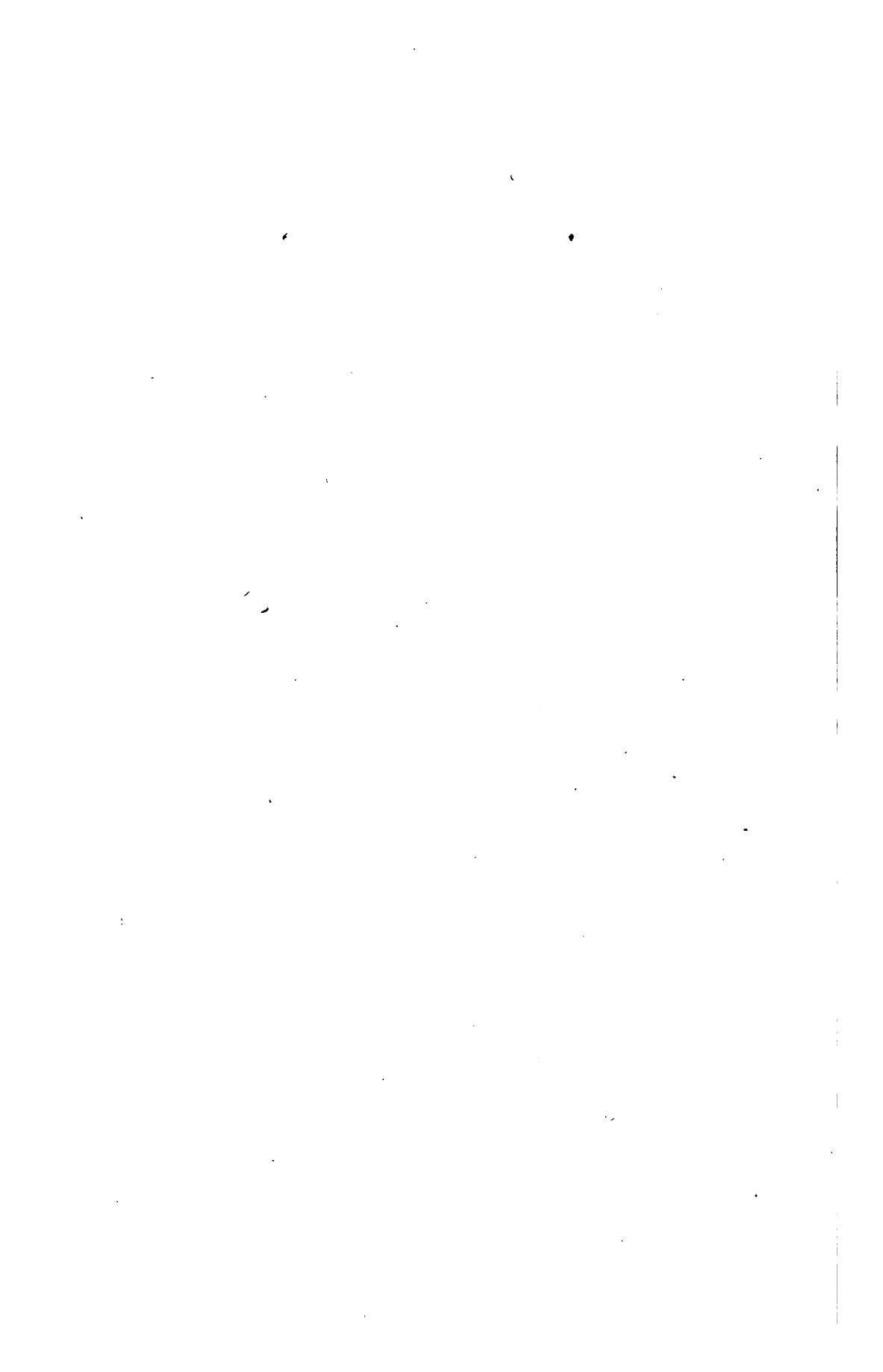
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YALE STUDIES IN ENGLISH

ALBERT S. COOK, EDITOR

XIV

THE LANGUAGE OF THE
NORTHUMBRIAN GLOSS TO THE
GOSPEL OF SAINT MATTHEW

PART I. PHONOLOGY

BY

EMILY HOWARD FOLEY, PH.D.



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PREFACE

THE following pages contain the results of my phonological investigation of the Lindisfarne Gospel of Matthew. The study is based upon the text of Skeat, *The Gospel according to Saint Matthew in Anglo-Saxon, Northumbrian, and Old Mercian Versions*, Cambridge, 1887; and upon Cook's *Glossary of the Old Northumbrian Gospels*, Halle, 1894. Where there is a difference between Skeat's and Cook's collations, I have chosen the latter's.

In the arrangement of my material, I have closely followed the order which Sievers employs in his Grammar, making West Germanic the point of departure. I have not always given every example illustrating the point in question; neither have I noted all the graphic variations of letters, such as æ- ae; ā- aa; u- wu; uu- vv.

The works which have proved most helpful in my investigation are listed in the Bibliography at the close of these pages. In addition to this acknowledgement, however, I must make special mention of three works which have given me an advantage over my predecessors in this field. I refer to Sievers' *Zum Angelsächsischen Vocalismus* (Decanatsprogramm); Bülbring's *Altenglisches Elementarbuch*; and Lindelöf's *Die Südnorthumbrische Mundart des 10. Jahrhunderts*. In this connexion it is only fair to add that the greater part of my work had been done before either of these last two books fell into my hands; indeed, I did not receive Lindelöf's volume till my manuscript was about to be sent to press. I therefore have attempted

PREFACE

nothing more than to incorporate mere references to the most significant of his suggestions and conclusions.

Furthermore, I must acknowledge aid from the *New English Dictionary*, a valuable source which Füchsel does not mention.

My work in the main merely confirms, of course, the results of previous investigators; but in a few instances, which it is not necessary for me to specify, I trust that I have suggested considerations which others have overlooked, even though I may not have arrived at certainty.

In conclusion, it gives me pleasure to acknowledge the guidance which Professor Cook has given me in this task.

EMILY HOWARD FOLEY.

YALE UNIVERSITY,
May 29, 1902.

CONTENTS

	PAGE
A. THE VOWELS OF THE STEM SYLLABLES	1
CHAPTER I. Short Vowels, §§ 1-5: a 1, e 5, i 7, o 9, u 11	1-12
CHAPTER II. Long Vowels, §§ 6-10: a 13, e 14, i 15, o 16, u 17	13-17
CHAPTER III. Diphthongs, §§ 11-14: ai 17, au 19, eu and iu 20, Special Northumbrian Diph- thongs 21	17-21
CHAPTER IV. Influence of Neighboring Sounds on Stressed Vowels, §§ 15-23: Influence of Nasals 21, The Breakings 23, The i-Umlaut 26, The u- and o/a-Umlaut 35, So-called Palatal Umlaut 37, Influence of Labials 39, Influence of Preceding Palatals 43, Hiatus and Contraction 44, Shifting of Quantity 46	21-47
B. THE VOWELS OF MEDIAL AND FINAL SYLLABLES	48
CHAPTER V. Suffixes, Prefixes, Compound Words, Medial Vowels, §§ 24-28: Suffix Ablaut 48, Prefixes 51, Second Members of Compounds 53, Changes of Final Sounds as Result of Apocope 54, Syncope of Middle Vowels 54	48-56
C. THE CONSONANTS	57
CHAPTER VI. Semi-Vowels, §§ 29-30: w 57, j 59 .	57-60
CHAPTER VII. Liquids and Nasals, §§ 31-34: r 60, l 61, m 61, n 62	60-63

CONTENTS

	PAGE
CHAPTER VIII. Labials, §§ 35-37: p 63, b 63, f 64	63-64
CHAPTER IX. Dentals, §§ 38-41: t 64, d 65, ð 66, s 68	64-68
CHAPTER X. Velars and Palatals, §§ 42-44: c 68, g 69, h 71	68-72
CHAPTER XI. Miscellaneous Phenomena, §§ 45-48: Gemination of Consonants 73, The Groups ft, ht, st 77, Grammatical Change 77, Svarabhakti 78	73-78
BIBLIOGRAPHY	79-81

PHONOLOGY

A. THE VOWELS OF THE STEM SYLLABLES

CHAPTER I. SHORT VOWELS

§ 1. a.

In originally closed syllables WGmc. *a* appears as *æ* (S. § 49).

I. *æ* before a simple consonant, or where the consonant has been doubled by the scribe, occurs in the following forms of the pret. ind. 1 and 3 sing. of the st. vbs. Cl. IV, V: gebræcc 14. 19; tobræc 27. 40; gebær 8. 17; gespræc 12. 22; spræcc 12. 46; bæd 27. 58 (beside gebæd 18. 26; gebeaed 26. 42); begæt 12. 43; cweð I 17. 11 (beside cweð I 17. 18; v. S. § 391, anm. 10; F. pp. 4–5); gesæt 26. 69; sætt 26. 55 (beside set I 21. 2; sett I 19. 8); also the pret. of the root wes: wæs I 6. 15; wæss 1. 19; wæs 2. 3; waes I 7. 5 (2); likewise in the pret.-pres. vb. mæga: mæg 9. 28; maeg I 17. 9; and in the imp. of the st. vbs. Cl. VI: fær 2. 20; gefær 17. 20; cf. S. § 49, anm. 2; Bülbring, Angl. Beib. IX, 89–91; F. § 1 (1).

Other examples are: æfist I 1. 10; æt I 5. 5; aet I 6. 19; æd 13. 29 (S. §§ 43, 51, 130; for d and t v. §§ 38, 39); bæcgling I 3. 10; bærlice I 5. 4; lehtfæt 6. 22; glædnise 28. 8; hwæt I 1. 3; huæs 22. 20; hrædlice 8. 32; ðæt I 4. 4; ðætte 11. 23; ðæs I 3. 12; bærsynnig 18. 17; gæt 7. 14 (beside geat 7. 13; geatt 16. 18 (§ 21)); bræccce 17. 15; blaec 5. 36; dæg 6. 34; dæg(huæm) 26. 55; oferfær (sb.) 1. 17; scæl 10. 8 mg.

2 VOWELS OF THE STEM SYLLABLES

glaeren I. 8. 3 is not clear to me; cf. NED. 'glass,' 'glare'; S. § 234.

II. æ is found before consonant groups in: æfter I 5. 11; aefter I 1. 1; ðætte 11. 23; gesægdniſe 13. 11; soðfæſt 1. 19 (beside soðfeſtra 13. 49; soðfeaſta 9. 13; soðfeſtñiſſe I 16. 14; wiſfeaſt 19. 21; v. B. §§ 250, 251); fæſte 27. 22; fæſtnaſeð I 7. 7 (beside efnegefeſtnaſe I 21. 7; geſeaſtñadon I 22. 6; cf. ibid.); fæſtnunga I 5. 4; geſraegn 22. 35 (beside geſraeſade 2. 16; geſraeſnад 2. 4; v. § 14); gebrægd 26. 51; gebrægdas 13. 22; gedærſted (?) (Lind.² § 64) 13. 33; dærſtum 16. 6 (beside darſte 16. 11); craeft 25. 24 (beside cræfta 25. 22); ongægn (?) 25. 6 (beside ongeaegn 25. 1; togeegnas 27. 32); these words according to Lind.² § 9 may belong here, or they may be the result of umlaut (§ 21; ibid. § 66; cf. B. § 296); also in the pres. opt., pres. p., pret. ind., and pp. of habba and sæcga (v. S. § 415, 1; cf. Bülbring, Angl. Beib. IX, 93): hæbbe 19. 16; hæb-bend 9. 23; hæfdes 22. 12; næfde 22. 25; sægde I 18. 17; ecgeſægde 22. 6; sæge 26. 63; furthermore in: hrægle 27. 28 (beside waghræhel 27. 51); wæſtm 21. 29 (with disappearance of h before breaking, or pal.-umlaut took place; v. S. § 165, anm. 3); wæſtim I 19. 4; mægn 13. 54; mægen 11. 12; genæglede 27. 31; v. S. § 49.

e occurs in gers 14. 19 (3); unfegernis 24. 15 mg.

For the æ in plægde 11. 17, &c., v. S. § 416, anm. 13 b, 17.

Unexplained: nɛvdø I 4. 3; fræppigdon 21. 37; gefræp-gedon 12. 10 (cf. Lea p. 68, note; Lind.² § 10, anm.; v. NED. 'frap'); gegræppde 14. 31 (v. S. § 405, anm. 10; cf. Lea § 24; Björkman, Scand. Loan-Words in ME. p. 54, note).

For the e in hehſtald 25. 7 cf. Cook's Gloss.; F. p. 4; Lind.² § 11.

a occurs in ah I 17. 18; ac 16. 13; was 21. 42; v. S. § 49, anm. 1; asca 11. 21; lattera 12. 45; also in acas 3. 10 (S. § 50, anm. 2).

fās (fasn) is Cook's way of glossing the word. It occurs in Mt. as fas 9. 20; fās 14. 36. Sweet and Hall give only

fæs, and Hall suggests as cognate Ger. 'faser'; v. also NED. 'fas.' Brown § 1 (2), p. 16, classifies the word with ā, as does Lea § 1, 4.

æ (eæ) occurs in the following loanwords: cæsctra 21. 2 (beside ceastrā 5. 14, &c.; v. § 21, II; S. § 157, 3); meæssa-preoste I 7. 14 (beside mesapreostum 12. 4, &c.; meassepreost 8. 4, &c.; v. Pog. Index, 'mæssa'; also § 18 below).

III. In originally open syllables WGmc. a appears sometimes as a, and sometimes as æ. a occurs, if the following syllable contains a guttural vowel a, o, u. Examples occurring in the inflexion of the verbs are: aron 27. 63; aro 6. 26; arun 2. 20; fara 2. 22, &c.; gehlaðad 22. 3; magon 20. 22; maga 6. 24; ondsuarede 28. 5, &c. (beside ondsuorade 26. 23; also forms with e; v. S. § 416, anm. 13 c); talanna I 5. 7; getalad 10. 30; wiðsaca I 20. 16; fara 2. 22 (beside færa 19. 17; v. below).

Other examples are: talum I 3. 3; dwala I 2. 8, &c. (beside duola 27. 64, &c.; v. NED. 'dwell'); staðolfæst 16. 18; stafum I 2. 9; nacod 25. 36; stalo 19. 18; erendraca I 18. 17; sago I 9. 10; soðsaga I 7. 2; monslaga I 16. 15; dagas 9. 15; dagum 2. 1; fadore 13. 43; fatum 13. 48; hagaðorn 7. 16; onsacca I 4. 2; cuacende 8. 14; staplas 21. 12; blaccum I 4. 2; staras 10. 29; wracco I 1. 9; ðafendum I 20. 12; waccen 14. 25; wraðo 24. 48; wiðer-braca 5. 25 (4).

For the æ in lætmest 5. 26; mægdne (>mædne 14. 11); gaefel I 21. 10; cæfertun 26. 69; ædgædre 9. 17; hæcla 5. 40; gedæfnad 3. 15; fæsten I 7. 3; v. §§ 17, 21; also S., Decanatsp. p. 18 ff.; Lind.² § 10.

æ occurs in the inf. and pres. p. of the st. vbs. Cl. VI (S. § 50, anm. 2): gesæcca I 9. 2; sæccendum I 20. 20; færa 19. 17 (beside fara 2. 22); færenne 2. 22; færnde 20. 30.

æ also occurs in hæfo 8. 9; sægo 18. 3, &c., where the influence of analogy is at work (cf. § 17).

For the æ in burgwæras 2. 3 v. § 20; F. p. 6.

4 VOWELS OF THE STEM SYLLABLES

IV. Before an original e that is not weakened from a, o, u, occurs as a rule æ (S. § 50, 2): dæges I. 20. 2; dæge 13. 1; dæg (ds.) 6. 34; hræðe 3. 16; hraeðe 26. 74 (S. § 315, anm. 2); wæter 14. 29; wætrum 8. 32; stæfes 5. 18; also in the 2 and 3 sing. ind. pres. and imp. sing. of habba, sægga; hæfes 19. 21; hæfeð (6) (beside hafes 13. 27); hæfe 5. 43; sæges 26. 70; sægeð 12. 18; sæg 15. 15; v. F. p. 6; S. § 415; Lind. § 10.

The word græfe (spelunca) 21. 13 should be mentioned here. Under 'grave' (NED.) occurs the following sentence: 'The normal mod. representative of OE. *græf* would be *graff*; the ME. disyllabic *grave*, from which the standard mod. form descends, was probably due to the especially frequent occurrence of the word in the dat. (locative) case.' This seems inadequate as an explanation for the lengthening. Such a form as the above is significant indeed, if it may be regarded as evidence of secondary lengthening already begun.

There is shifting between æ and a in the inflectional system (S. § 50, 2). Examples are: ns.: fæder (2); faeder (3); fader (19); as.: fæder (5); faeder (4); fader (8); ds.: fæder (3); fader (3); huales (gs.), 12. 40; bæccum 23. 4; gewære 10. 17 (cf. S. § 294, anm. 1).

For geslaegen I 19. 4; ahæfen 23. 12 v. § 17; for gefagen 2. 10 v. S. § 391, anm. 6; Björkman, Scand. Loan-Words in ME. p. 111.

Of afvlic I 2. 11, Björkman (ibid. p. 20) in discussing the etymology of 'awkward' says:—'The first example of the word-stem in English is *afolic geflit*, "perversa contentio." Lindis. Gospels, which does not show the k-suffix, but seems to represent a ground form **afoh* (>**afog*) (cf. Murray, NED. I p. 596), which could be from Scand. *gfugr*, &c.'

Unexplained: hwastana I 20. 15; baeligniso 20. 13.

Loanwords: bratt 5. 4 (PG. p. 929; S., Decanatsp. pp. 15, 16); latinum I 1. 12; camella 3. 4; tramitum I 4. 9;

trametas I 2. 10; traht 14. 13 mg.; trachterum I 2. 1; intrahtung I 2. 7; getrahtade I 19. 19; calic 20. 22 (beside cælces 23. 25 (§ 17, 1)); asales I 8. 6 (cf. PG. p. 929, § 2, 1); asalda 18. 6 (§ 39); anticrist I 6. 17. The a in allmissa I 17. 6 is given long by Pog. and Cook; but B. § 516 and Lind.² § 14 give it short. May not ll indicate å? cf. § 45; v. PG. p. 929, § 2, 3. Also, sacleaso 28. 14; v. Kl., PG. p. 934; Björkman, Scand. Loan-Words in ME. p. 12.

WGmc. a appears as o (not ɔ) in the proclitic prepositions (S. § 51): of 15. 5; on I 8. 10; onbindes 16. 19; onfoeð 7. 8; also in huothwoego 24. 17.

WGmc. a is affected by :

1. Following nasals, § 15.
2. Breaking before r-, h-, and l-combinations, § 16.
3. Preceding palatals, § 21.
4. Contraction, § 22.
5. i-Umlaut, § 17.

§ 2. e.

For the occurrence of e in Northumbrian v. the observations of Lindelöf § 4, Lea § 4, and Füchsel § 2. For the forms with u- and o/a-umlaut, and those influenced by w, v. §§ 18, 20.

I. Examples of e occur in the inflexion of the strong verbs of Cl. III, IV, V: fregno 21. 24 (PG. p. 933) (beside gefraignes 2. 8, &c.; v. § 14); help 20. 30; ofdelfes 6. 19; bellende I 7. 12; suelta 26. 35; geld 18. 28; f'stelað 6. 20; stelende 28. 13; breceð 12. 20; gebrecceð 21. 44; berendum 24. 19; cueð 6. 5; gecuedon (pp.) 13. 35; getreden 5. 13; tred . . . 21. 33 mg.; begettes 17. 27; ongeten 22. 18; spreces 18. 10; sprecca 10. 20; gef 5. 39; gefanne I 1. 12; gfreten 6. 19; ettes 9. 11; etendra 14. 21; f'esetna I 19. 12; gebeden I 20. 12; serð 5. 21 (S. § 388, 3, anm. 1); gewegen 7. 2; gesuge I 6. 12 (pp.); gesegen I 9. 11.

For streigdæs 12. 30 v. § 14.

II. In words other than strong verbs: suefnum 2. 12;

6 VOWELS OF THE STEM SYLLABLES

soefnum 27. 19 (§ 20); uel 5. 44; gewelgad 25. 9; stefn I 16. 7; feðrum 23. 37; feðrihte I 7. 17; regn 7. 25; hregnað 5. 45; godspell, bi-, soð-, 4. 23; 21. 45; I 7. 2; godspellere I 3. 6; (derne)legere 19. 9; feltun 15. 17; gemet I 17. 11; ungemetlicra I. 5. 5; efne I 4. 9; wesdæl 24. 27 (§ 38); besmum 12. 44; ðegnes 10. 42 (beside ðeignas 5. 1 (§ 14)); gebed 21. 13; weg 11. 10; we 10. 10 (§ 20); gefe 23. 19; puulsper 11. 7; forgefnise I 18. 7; ondget 15. 16; mec 3. 11; meh 8. 21; ðec 5. 23; ðeh 4. 6 (§ 42); telge 24. 32; sedlum I 20. 20; seðel 19. 28; hehsedle 27. 19; sunset 24. 27; recone 21. 2; hreconlice 28. 8; fiondgeldum 4. 24 (beside gyld I 20. 10 (§ 20)); hueðer 7. 16 (S. § 342, anm. 1); wecg (stater) I 20. 9; ðes 3. 3; (ge)rēc 27. 24 (§ 23); ungerecc 26. 5; metdmaasta 23. 45 mg.; bismær 15. 6 (cf. Lind.² § 16, 2; NED. 'bismær'); bismeredon 27. 29; edniwung 19. 28; geedniwad 12. 13; tinterge 5. 22; uer I 9. 2; nesto 8. 20; nestpoha 10. 10; getegðeges (?) 23. 23 (v. Lind.² § 16, anm. 2; cf. F. § 47, teigða).

WGmc. e may occur in: harwelle I 1. 5; hünd- 13. 8; rum- 7. 13 (B. § 175, anm.).

For the e in nese 13. 29 (2) v. Brown § 3; cf. Hall.

Gmc. e appears as o in oððe 17. 25; oð 22. 44.

Loanwords: tempel 23. 17; tempul I 21. 3; centur 8. 5; centures I 17. 20; senapes I 19. 10; senepeis 13. 31; sestre 5. 15 (v. F. § 2); efne (hymnus) 26. 30 (§ 17, III); trymes 17. 27 (y = Lat. e; § 17, III); seista 20. 5 (§ 14).

æ appears instead of e in: unbærend 23. 4; spræcca 10. 19; spræcend 12. 46; wæra 27. 52; wæs (imp.) 2. 13 (these last due to w influence; v. § 20; B. § 92, anm.).

WGmc. e is affected by:

1. Following nasal, § 15.
2. Preceding palatal, § 21.
3. Following r-, h-, l-combinations, § 16.
4. u-Umlaut, § 18.
5. Contraction with a guttural vowel, § 22.
6. Influence of preceding w, § 20.

§ 3. i.

I. WGmc. i (= Idg. i) is found in the 1 and 3 sing. pl. pret. and pp. of st. vbs. Cl. I: f'drifon 21. 39; f'drifen I 18. 11, &c.; bisuicen 2. 16; avritti I 3. 4; awuritun I 9. 9; auritten 11. 10, &c.; wrigon 25. 36; wrigen 6. 31; arison 27. 52 (beside arioson 25. 7 (§ 18)); arisen 13. 5; slitenum I 8. 9; toslitten 9. 16; eftedwidon 21. 42 (beside ædwuioton 27. 44; v. Lind.² § 22, anm.); also the pret.-pres. verb: wistas 25. 26; witte I 3. 12; wittende 26. 10; gewitten 10. 26.

Other examples are: ofgestignisse I 6. 1; bisig I 17. 11; bisignisse I 17. 10; onwrih(nise) I 7. 4; firinade 27. 4; bifiende 12. 20; I 6. 1; smið 13. 55; sltnese 24. 15; scipp 8. 24; scipe 8. 23; wiðweard 14. 24; writ I 2. 15; (forms with io, v. § 18); gewritt I 21. 2; oferwurit I 6. 17; fisc 7. 10; fisceras 4. 18; fiscðrut 15. 34; gif I 1. 12; gife 6. 22; ðicee 13. 15; ticgenum 25. 32; (grist)bitting 13. 42 (beside gristbiottung 8. 12 (§ 18); v. Lind.² § 22, anm.; NED. 'grist'); afirres 7. 23 (v. S. § 159, anm.; B §§ 187, anm.; 516); gestricedon 4. 21 (v. Kl., WB. 'Strick'); sifða 13. 38 (v. NED. 'sieve,' 'sift': also Kl.-L., Eng. Ety.); biluit 11. 29 (v. Cos. § 31, 1; Kl., NStB. § 70; Kl., WB. 'bilig' and 'Weichbild'); ðirda (?) 17. 23 (cf. Lind.² § 22); lifeð 9. 18; hlifigende 27. 63; megwlit 28. 3; wlit 22. 16; wlittig 23. 27; ondwlita I 7. 9 (2); hwidir I 7. 17; ðider 2. 22; twigge 24. 32; lingendes 26. 7; witnesa 8. 4; wið I 4. 1; hit 26. 25; his I 3. 9; (h)is (ejus), 1. 21; him I 4. 2; hine I 9. 19; hir 9. 21; hrif 1. 18; frið I 18. 14; friðgeorn 5. 9; bitterlice 26. 75; ofwistic 6. 11; niðer 18. 26; niðria 18. 10; geniðras 12. 42; pricle 5. 18 (2); ðisses 13. 15; ðisum 17. 20; til (?) 26. 31 (v. Kl.-L., Eng. Ety. 'till'; Emerson, Hist. of Eng. Lang. § 163); inwite 26. 4; esuica 7. 5.

i occurs in bið I 2. 16; bist 5. 23 (Streitberg § 210).

For flitta, geflít v. § 45, 5.

To WS. frēc corresponds fric 11. 19; frico 25. 27 (v. NED. 'freck,' 'frike'; Uhlenbeck, 'faíhufriks').

8 VOWELS OF THE STEM SYLLABLES

II. i = Gmc. i from Idg. e.

(a) Before nasal + cons.: in the present of the st. vbs.
Cl. III.: singe 26. 34; singendum I 8. 10; besuingene 27. 26;
gesuingas 10. 17; gesuingdon 21. 8; suinganne 20. 19;
bindes 18. 18; unbindas 21. 2, &c.; drinces 20. 23; drin-
cende 1. 18; windende 27. 28; onginneð I 1. 1, &c.; on-
findes I 4. 11, &c.; winnes 11. 28 (beside wynnas 6. 28
(§ 20)); in the subst. vb.: sint I 3. 11, &c.; sindon 10. 20;
sindun I 5. 2; sind 11. 8; in the wk. vb. getimbro 16. 18, &c.

Other examples are: getimbro (sb.) 24. 1; hringas I 6. 3;
finger 23. 4; intinge I 1. 10 (§ 40); inðing 15. 9; ðing
I 15. 4; ðingstow 20. 3; blind 12. 22; wind 8. 26; tinterge
5. 22; winstra I 17. 6; winn I 1. 4; dringe 10. 42; ðringe
25. 37 (§§ 39, 42); drincere 11. 19.

For blinnes 24. 12 v. § 25.

Common Gmc. i occurs in: in I 1. 5; inne I 6. 1 (?) (cf.
Kl.-L., Eng. Ety., inn); binna 23. 25; innoð 12. 40.

i occurs instead of e in fillenu 3. 4.

For the i in fhles 9. 16 v. Lea p. 84, note.

(b) Before an original following i or j: in the present
form of the strong verbs biddan, licgan, sittan: biddes
21. 22; bidanne 14. 23; liges 8. 6; lig 19. 18; liccende
8. 14; sitto I 1. 2; sittendo 27. 61.

Other examples are: forecwide 4. 5; is (Idg. *est*i*) I 1. 12;
ise 5. 37 (2); child I 20. 10; micel 7. 27 (yet cf. Kl.-L., Eng.
Ety. 'much'); micla 21. 36; middum I 7. 8; midla I 14. 15;
middel I 2. 6; middan 13. 38; middangeardes 4. 8; milsia
I 20. 14; milsande 9. 36; mitte 5. 15; sibe 10. 34; sibsume
5. 9; sige 12. 20; gesigfaestnade I 14. 12; gesihða 17. 9;
scillinga 18. 28; wil 5. 40 (beside forms with a, e, ə, æ;
v. S. § 428; F. p. 10); willninngum I 17. 7; gespilles 6. 20;
gespilled 6. 19; feortig I 16. 8; hundneantig 18. 13, &c.;
sextih 13. 23 (and other numerals; v. Kl.-L., Eng. Ety. 'ten');
loswist 16. 26; earoliprica 26. 51; wilde 13. 27; milde 5. 4;
mildheortnise 9. 13; smirinis 26. 12 (S. § 159, anm. 1;
B. §§ 187, anm.; 516).

Interchange of e and i occurs in *cuiðestu* 7. 9 (3); v. S. § 317, anm. 7.

The i in : *hripes* 7. 2; *hrípes* 9. 37; *hrippo* 25. 26; *rioppas* (§ 18) 6. 26 is unstable (S. § 382, anm. 3). Short i is to be inferred, certainly, in the umlauted form, and possibly in those with geminated p; v. § 45.

For the i in *scip*: *bearscip* I 18. 8; *broðerscip* 24. 12 v. S. § 98, anm.; in *siðða* I 9. 12 v. B. §§ 246, 336; cf. Kal. § 65, a.

Loanwords: *biscop* I 3. 2, &c.; *forebiscob* 1. 18 mg.; *discipul* 27. 57; *discipulas* 26. 8; *discipulum* 26. 40; *cilic* 11. 21; *cirica* I 5. 15, &c.; *circendum* I 8. 10; *ciricalica* I 9. 4; *disc* I 19. 14, &c.; *pinn* I 2. 18.

WGmc. e before m occurs as i in : *nimeð* 10. 38; *nimmende* I 10. 3, &c. (beside *niomað* 19. 11, &c. (§ 18)).

Unexplained: *swilce* I 18. 13; *hi(mong)* I 18. 13 (Is this hi an aspirated form of ge, or is the h inorganic, and the i the remains of an original in?).

i>i through the disappearance of a voiceless spirant occurs in : *stið* 25. 24; *stiðnise* 19. 8; *fif* I 19. 15; *swiðe* 11. 20; and the loanwords: *pīsa* 23. 4; *pislīce* 13. 15 (Pog. §§ 131, 299).

For the i in *ciceno* 23. 37 v. § 21.

i is affected by :

1. Breaking before r- and l-combinations, and before h, § 16.
2. u- and o/a-Umlaut, § 18.
3. Change from *wio* to *wu*, § 20.
4. Contraction, § 22.

§ 4. o.

o (= WGmc. o) remains unchanged in :

I. The pp. of st. vbs. Cl. II, III, IV: *beboden* 1. 18; *f'bod* 10. 14 mg.; *geboren* I 6. 10; *boren* 19. 12; *gecorfen* 7. 19; *ofcorfen* 3. 10; *wordnum* I 18. 18; *aworden* 14. 15,



10 VOWELS OF THE STEM SYLLABLES

&c.; gebrocen 21. 44; aworpen 14. 24; geworpen 5. 13; gecorenes I 2. 9, &c.; tostrogden I 1. 2; agotten 9. 17.

II. The other examples are: ðorfendo 5. 3 (v. Lind.² § 48, anm. 3; F. p. 11, note; Lea § 9, (1)); bohte 13. 46; bohton 21. 12; unboht 10. 8; tobosten 27. 51; georenscipe I 14. 4; morgen 6. 34; wolcen 17. 5; ofer 4. 5; morður 19. 18; corn I 19. 10; cōrn 13. 31 (§ 23); word 19. 1; wōrd 26. 75 (§ 23); foxas 8. 20; dohter 9. 18; ðornas 13. 7; hagaðornum 7. 16; snotre 7. 24; wintrog 21. 33; smolt 16. 2; oft I 6. 18; hog 24. 45; hogfæste 25. 2; hogfullum 11. 25; hogahscipe I 8. 13 (§ 44); gold 2. 11; göld 23. 17 (§ 23); god I 7. 5: godspell I 8. 17; godspellere I 3. 6; godecund I 6. 19; godecundmæht 25. 31; fola I 21. 3; cofa 21. 13; mot 7. 3 (by Cook glossed ö; v. § 9); bodge 4. 17; boddages 11. 5; f'ebod I 16. 5; bod 22. 36; bebod 15. 3; folcum 27. 20; costaið I 7. 7; costung 13. 21; costere 4. 3; lose 7. 13; losað 18. 14; lōsað 16. 25 (§ 23); loswistes 16. 26; losing 7. 13; for I 2. 11; befora 17. 2; fore I 18. 13; forma I 4. 3; forðor 10. 37; forðmest I 14. 2 (with the vowel seldom written out); duoladon 18. 13; duola 27. 64 (beside dwala I 2. 8 (3); v. § 20); gedwola I 8. 9; geduolade 18. 12; forht 1. 20; frohtendum I 18. 5; geðolas 11. 12; geworhte I 2. 9; worohte 19. 4 (§ 48); worohton 20. 12; f'egenotad I 10. 1; hornsceaða 4. 5; lof 21. 16; ofn 13. 42; mohða 6. 19; cotte 6. 6; nestpoha 10. 10; stocce 6. 2; brōrd 13. 26 (§ 23); f'worpnise 1. 17; holas (?) 8. 20 (v. Kl.-L. Eng. Ety. 'hold'; Kal. § 67, b; B. § 529; S. § 242, anm. 3).

Loccete (eructare) 13. 35; loceteð I 7. 5 are not clear. Could the stem be the same as in roccetan (eructare) with change of r to l?

For ðorlease 13. 4; ðorofra 26. 17 v. §§ 16, 48.

WS. wolde appears as walde 23. 37; walde 14. 7, &c.

WS. ðurh appears once as ðorh 26. 24 (S. § 56, anm. 1).

WGmc. o appears as o before nasal in wonnendæ I 2. 5 (wuniga, § 15, VI).



Shortening of ö occurs in: brohte 17. 16; ðohte 1. 20; sohton 13. 28 (S. § 125).

Unexplained: forf 19. 21; toge 5. 9 mg.; ohthripp 9. 38.

Loanwords: torr 21. 33; port 7. 14; portcwenum I 21. 7; apostol I 6. 17; ap'lorum 10. 2; apostolum 10. 8 mg.; ole 25. 8 (beside oele 25. 34 (§ 17)); olebearuas 26. 30.

WGmc. o appears as u (S. § 55) in: fuglas 6. 26; uulfes 7. 15; fulle I 8. 6, and compounds; fulwa 3. 11; fulwiht 21. 25; fuluihtere 3. 1 (v. NED.); lufað 6. 24; ufa 4. 6; ond-spurnað 18. 9, &c. (beside ondspyrnas 5. 29, &c. (§ 17; S. § 389, anm. 4)).

WGmc. o is affected by:

1. Following nasal, § 15.
2. i-Umlaut, § 17.

§ 5. u.

WGmc. u occurs:

I. In the pret. pl. of st. vbs. Cl. II, and in the pret. pl. and pp. of st. vbs. Cl. III: geflugin 8. 33; gecuron 13. 48; gefrugnon 22. 23; gefrugnun 17. 10; druncun 24. 38; ðruncenum 24. 49 (§ 39); ymburfon 23. 15 (§ 29; S. § 388, anm. 4); geðurscon 21. 8, 35; gewurpon 21. 39 (beside geworpun 26. 60); gegrundon 24. 41; gebundenn 27. 16; gebundene 27. 2; gefundun 2. 11; gefundena I 4. 10, &c.; underdulfon 13. 7; gewurdon 27. 54; geurnon 8. 28; sungun 11. 17; f'gu^lde (opt. pret.) 18. 25; f'egulde I 20. 15; ongunnun 12. 1; also in the pres. forms of cunna: cunn ... 10. 14 mg. (S. § 422, 5, anm.); also, in the pres. of the pret.-pres. vbs.: gewunna (§ 29) 26. 53; ðurfu 26. 65.

u appears in pret. 1 sg. ind. in strugde 25. 26 (S. § 389, anm. 1).

iu appears in pret. pl. and pp. of gescriungon 13. 6; f'scriuncen 12. 10 (v. § 21; S. § 386, anm. 4).

II. The other examples are: burna I 2. 10; burg I 6. 17; burug (§ 48) I 6. 10; dura 25. 10; lustes 5. 32; lustgeornisse I 17. 3; sundor I 19. 9 (beside suindir I 3. 7); sundurlice



12 VOWELS OF THE STEM SYLLABLES

I 9. 9; sundrade I 1. 3 (beside suindria 19. 6); sundria I 9. 7; sundrigo I 10. 3 (beside suyndriga I 9. 1; suindrige I 9. 9; S. § 6, anm. 1; swindrigum I 4. 1; syndrig 25. 15; v. § 17); utacundum 17. 25; godcunde I 6. 19; under I 4. 5; underra I 9. 9; wundor I 15. 4; wundrade 27. 14; wuldor 16. 27; wuldrið 5. 16; dumb 12. 22; sum I 5. 8; grund 18. 6; hundum (*canis*) I 17. 13; hungro 24. 7; hungrig 25. 37 (beside hincrig 25. 35 (§ 17)); sune I 21. 13, &c. (beside s^uona (*as.*) 2. 15); sunna (*sol*) 5. 45; sunnadæg I 18. 20; tunga I 1. 5; tungul 2. 2; cunnade 1. 25, &c.; cunnere 4. 3; cursunges 23. 15; ðus I 7. 1; wyrtrumma 3. 10; unwyrtrumias 18. 29; hundrað 18. 12, &c.; hundfre . . . 22. 19 mg.; hūnduelle 13. 8 (§ 23); fulla (*amphora*) 26. 7; (h)rust 6. 20; bunda 13. 30.

For afvlic I 2. 11 v. § 1.

Unexplained: cursumbor 2. 11; adustriga 26. 74 (cf. Brown § 38, c).

Loanwords: puulspær 11. 7 (cf. CD.; Kl.-L., Eng. Ety. ‘pool’); luh 8. 18; tunuc 27. 28 (PG. p. 929, § 2, 2); culfre 3. 16 (cf. Kl., PG. p. 337; Holthausen, IF. X, 112). cuouple 8. 23 should be mentioned here. Cf. the following from NED., under ‘Coble.’ ‘ONorthumbrian *cuopl* appears to have no Teut. cognates; cf. Welsh *ceubal*, *ceubol* ferry-boat, skiff, lighter (prob. —OWelsh **caupol*), Bret. *caubal*, which Silvan Evans identifies with Lat. *caupulus*, *-illus*. . . . The word may be native in Celtic, and may contain the root *ceu-*, *cau-* hollow. The ONorth. form, if correct, is not the direct parent of the present form.’

u is lengthened by the disappearance of a voiceless spirant in: ūs I 5. 3; us I 2. 5; usic I 5. 2; ūsig 15. 23; userne 6. 11, &c.; urer 6. 9; euðe 7. 23; euðlice I 7. 6; euðnama I 6. 4; muð 12. 34; husul 12. 7; suðdales 12. 42; suðerne I 19. 6; uðuuto 21. 25; wuðuto 23. 1.

WGmc. u is affected by:

1. i-Umlaut, § 17.
2. Preceding palatals, § 21.



CHAPTER II. LONG VOWELS

§ 6. à.

WGmc. à (=Gmc. æ, WS. æ) is as a rule represented by ē; in a few instances by æ (S. §§ 55, 150, 1; Lind. § 17). This ē occurs:

I. In the 2 sg. and pl. pret. ind., and in the pret. opt. of st. vbs. Cl. IV, V: bēre 27. 32; beron 20. 12; fstelun 28. 13; gebedon 8. 31; gebēdon 7. 4; gebede 19. 13, &c.; geseton I 18. 15; gesetton 27. 36; legon 9. 36; sprecon 20. 11; frēton 13. 4; eton 15. 38; ēton 13. 4 (beside ētt 11. 18; v. S. § 391, anm. 3; Kl., PG. p. 436, § 171); cwedon I 10. 2; cueðon 15. 1 (forms with oe v. § 20); ongete 13. 51; ongēton 14. 35; segon 25. 37, &c.; gesege 12. 22, &c.; in the pres. forms, and pp. of some reduplicating vbs.: ondrēde 10. 31; ondredes 21. 26; flēt 5. 40; flettes 19. 5 (beside forleites I 17. 3, &c.; v. § 14); also in: redes I 3. 11; slepes 9. 24; slēpende 26. 43; were 25. 21; weron I 3. 2; wēre I 20. 30 (forms with æ v. below; and with oe, v. § 20); neron 12. 4; nere 7. 6 mg.; nēre 24. 22; getēled 22. 6; tela 8. 10; gebrecon (brūca) 13. 4 (2) (v. S. § 385, anm. 5; Lea § 44, 1); dedon 26. 4 (3) (beside dydon I 18. 8, &c.; v. § 17).

II. The other examples are: redes I 8. 16; ētere 11. 9; slepe 1. 20; efern 14. 15; eferntid 8. 16; nēdro 10. 16; nedra 23. 33; nedles 19. 24; sprēc 11. 16; sprec I 2. 5; bēre 9. 2; bēro 9. 6; ger 9. 20; hēr 23. 5; her 5. 36; huer 2. 2, &c.; hwer 2. 9; uer (§ 44) I 21. 3 (beside hwōer I 18. 3; v. § 20); ðer I 22. 8, &c.; fetelsum 13. 48 (F. p. 13); seel 26. 16 (2); sed 13. 37; sēd 13. 24; sedere 13. 18; sedege, sēde 13. 3; meg 20. 13; telendum I 21. 9; telnisses I 3. 12; fletnise I 20. 14; geleta (exitus) 22. 9 (Lind. p. 33); esuica 7. 5; esuice 5. 8 mg.; espryngc I 2. 9; eristes I 21. 11; ferunga 10. 14 mg.; erendraca I 18. 17 (v. Kl., Beit. VI, pp. 385,

14 VOWELS OF THE STEM SYLLABLES

386; Bugge, *ibid.* XXIV, 431 ff.; S. § 100, anm. 4); *swer* (*piger*) 25. 26; *merne* 27. 16; *seles* I 7. 1 (beside *soel* 19. 27; *sella* 12. 12; *sellra* 10. 31; v. B. §§ 339, 342); *ferende* (?) 7. 15.

For the e in *lece* 9. 12; *leceneð* I 19. 2 (beside *leicnade* 12. 15 (§ 14), cf. B. § 192; Lind. p. 33; Lea § 45).

Shifting from ē to æ occurs in: *sædi* 20. 8; *mæg* 11. 19; *wærond* 18. 31; *wære* 13. 35.

ē does not occur in WGmc. *suā*, which shifts from *swæ* I 9. 18 (104) to *sua* 5. 31 (57) and *suoe* 18. 32 (v. F. p. 13; Bülbring, *Angl. Beib.* X, 368 ff.; also EB. § 103).

For the ā in *sawes* 25. 24; *sawende* 13. 19; *gecrawe* 26. 74 v. Kl., PG. p. 407, § 114; p. 432, § 165; cf. S. §§ 57, 2 a; 62, anm.; Kal. §§ 59, anm.; 60, a.

WGmc. ā appears as ā in *mag* 10. 35 (S. § 57, anm. 3).

The ā of *gān* is of uncertain origin; cf. S. §§ 57, anm. 1; 430, anm. 1; Kl., PG. § 166; F. p. 13.

ne *hwarne* 8. 30 glosses *non*. Hwar probably stands here for *hwār*, the negative being again appended; cf. *Boethius* (ed. Sedgefield) *nāwer nēah* 42. 1; 43. 5; *Alfred's Soliloquies* 182. 13 (cf. 19) *nyste ic nāwar eorðan hū ic ongynnā wolde* (and so Mod. Eng. nowhere near; cf. nowise; OE. *nealles*, &c.). The a may here have been shortened, as in *nāwar* (nawer) above. For *hwār*-*hwār* v. S. § 321, anm. 2.

Loanwords: *streta* I 7. 13; *strête* 13. 19 (beside *stræt* 13. 4).

WGmc. ā is affected by:

1. Following nasals, § 15.
2. Preceding and following palatals, §§ 19, 21.

§ 7. ē.

The origin of this Gmc. ē (=Got. ē) is not clear; cf. Streitberg § 79; Kl., PG. § 126.

ē appears in: *her* I 4. 2; *hēr* 17. 4, &c.

For the e in: hehtes I 1. 11; heht 21. 6; onfengon 10. 8; ahengon 23. 24 v. S. §§ 58; 394, anm. 2; 395, anm. 3; Streitberg § 79, 3; Kl., PG. p. 411, §§ 126, 127; Kal. § 63.

For ē, the result of contraction, v. § 22.

Loanwords: feberadlum 8. 15; crecisc I 2. 8; grecisc I 2. 5 (beside creicnas I 2. 7 (§ 14)).

§ 8. ī.

i (= Gmc. ī) occurs:

I. In the pres. forms of st. vbs. Cl. I: f'drife 10. 1; drifo 12. 28; slittenne 5. 11; toslīta 26. 61; awrita I 6. 19; bīdas 11. 3; abid 27. 49; abidað 26. 38; swicað 24. 11; suicas 24. 5; scines 13. 43; stige 20. 18; ofdunegestigdes 11. 23 (S. § 381, anm. 4); ariso 27. 63; arisās 11. 5; w'ðarrīsas 10. 21; hrinas 23. 29; gehrinadon 14. 36 (S. § 381, anm. 4); flitendum I 2. 1 (for forms with tt v. § 45).

For forms with io v. § 18.

II. The other examples are: rīces 9. 35; īdil 12. 36; idlo 25. 2; inwritting I 4. 8 (perhaps shortening of i here; v. § 45); lehtisern 5. 15; gidsunges 6. 24 mg.; wisa (modus) I 9. 15; tīd I 6. 18; tid 14. 15; stiga I 7. 13; sido 3. 4; life, lif 12. 32; wines I 18. 9; winwircendum I. 21. 8; wintrog 21. 33; winbegera 21. 33 mg.; wīntrees 26. 29; huil 26. 45; huile 26. 55; huit 5. 36; uthuitum I 21. 17; wifes 8. 14; uifgiornis 15. 19; wifega 19. 10; wifmonn 19. 4; mīn 12. 50; minum 11. 27; ðin 7. 3; bliðe 6. 22; unblīðe 6. 23; unblīðemoede 26. 37; rim I 4. 7; forerim I 1. 1; wide 7. 13; rīces 2. 6; rixade 2. 22; widlas 12. 5; witges I 7. 7; gewitgade 15. 7; witgiung I 5. 10; swigade 26. 63; suigo (mora) 25. 5; suigiunc 24. 48; līc (corpus) 24. 28; lichomas I 17. 9; licðrouer 8. 2; gelīc 7. 26; licenesse 6. 27; licas 6. 34; gelicade 14. 6; licewyrðe 11. 26; wisdo 11. 9 (§ 33); unwis 5. 22; wisfæst 5. 48; unrehtwiniſis 24. 12; ðrīm I 22. 2; ðriim 27. 40 (S. § 324, anm. 2); ðritih 13. 23 (beside ðrittiges I 19. 9; § 45; S. §§ 214, anm. 1; 230, anm. 1; B. § 349); sniueð 5. 45; higna 13. 27.

16 VOWELS OF THE STEM SYLLABLES

For the i in *hríppē* 13. 39, &c. v. §§ 3, 45; in *giuias* 7. 9; *giudon* 27. 20, &c. v. *Lea* § 51, note; S. § 416, anm. 14 b; in *wigbed* 23. 19 v. § 19.

i is the result of lengthening, after the loss of a nasal before a voiceless spirant in: *fif* I 19. 5; (*hunteantig*)*siða* I 20. 17, &c.; *suiðre* 5. 29; *stið* 25. 24; *stiðnise* 19. 8; *siða* 26. 44; *grist(bitung)* 13. 42, &c.

Loanwords: *ficbeam* I 21. 4; *crist* I 14. 10; *pīsa* 23. 4; *pīslice* 13. 15 (Pog. § 131); *mile* 5. 41 (Pog. § 143); *pinerum* 18. 34; *pinenne* 8. 29 (Pog. § 270); *trinise* I 16. 7.

§ 9. ö.

ö (= Gmc. ö) occurs:

I. In the pret. ind. and opt. of st. vbs. Cl. VI: *ofstode* I 5. 8; *gestodon* 12. 46; *stōd* 27. 11; *onsōc* 26. 72; *f'eson* 3. 15; *ofslog* 2. 16; *ofslogun* I 21. 8; *gedrog* 9. 20; *þuoh* 27. 24; *offor* I 18. 10; *gewōx* 13. 26; *woxon* 13. 7 (S. § 392, anm. 5); *underhof* 8. 17; *ahofon* 17. 8; *gehlogun* 9. 24.

II. The other examples are: *hrof* 24. 17; *hrōfa* 10. 27; to 21. 30 (beside *tom* I 18. 19 (§ 33)); to (too) 5. 33; *rōde* 27. 31; *roda* 16. 24; *wodnesdæg* I 22. 17; *unrōt* 26. 38 (and other compounds); *moder* I 20. 20; *stowa* 27. 33; *ðingstow* 20. 3; *mōr* 26. 30; *more* 17. 20; *eðmod* 11. 29; *eðmodiges* 18. 4; *locadon* 21. 38; *flouing* 9. 20; *flownise* I 6. 14; *behofes* 5. 30; *behoffic* 5. 29; *fostrað* 3. 4; *fot* 18. 8; *fotscoemel* 5. 35; *gōd* 19. 16; *godo* 13. 23; *ðrowiga* 26. 33; *ðrowungum* 10. 31; *licðrower* I 17. 19; *dōm* 12. 18; *dome* 5. 22; *dogor* 15. 32; *broðer* 5. 23; *wōp* 13. 42; *wop* 8. 12; *blōd* 16. 17; *blodes* I 18. 10; *boc* I 2. 17; *bōc* I 7. 7; *gemotern* 27. 27; *gemot* 10. 17; *dōm* (facio) 20. 13; *doende* 24. 46, &c.; *noh* 25. 9; *genoh* 10. 25; *foter* 13. 27; *foðer* 14. 20; *mōt* 22. 19; *mot* (licet) 27. 6; *moston* 14. 36; *stol* 23. 2; *flōd* 24. 38; *flod* 24. 39; *domad* 10. 34 (all other forms umlauted, § 17); *hoc* 17. 27; *bogehte*(?) 7. 14 (cf. OE. *bōg*); *eftcoles* 24. 12.

For the o in brohte 17. 16; ðohte 1. 20; sohte 8. 19; sohton 13. 28 v. §§ 3, 15, III; also S. § 125.

For the o in woes 22. 18; wohfull 18. 32 v. § 15, III.

Loanwords: (bryd)lopa 22. 2 (v. Kl., PG. p. 932); non 20. 5; nones 27. 45.

Final wō appears as ū in: hu 7. 4; hu^a 11. 23; tuu 24. 41; tuufald 23. 15; tuufallice I 16. 7 (S. §§ 69, anm.; 172, anm.).

ō is affected by i-Umlaut, § 17.

§ 10. u.

ū (= Gmc. ū) occurs:

I. In the pres. forms of certain st. vbs. Cl. II (S. § 385): gehlutes 8. 20; brucas 15. 27; gebrucca 6. 25; suppas 16. 28 (though v. § 45 for the possible significance of pp).

II. The other examples are: (lond)buend 21. 35; ðusend I 19. 15; untuned I 4. 4; untuende 27. 52 (all other forms with i-umlaut, § 17); hus 10. 6; hūs 12. 44; gehuse 10. 25; (un)rūm I 17. 14; rumlice I 18. 14; rūmwelle 7. 13; tun 26. 36; feltun 15. 17; beretun 3. 12; cæfertun 26. 69; lehtunum 23. 23 mg.; buta I 2. 8; ahbutean I 8. 17; ūt 13. 48; ūt 10. 14; ūta 26. 69; ūte 12. 47; gedrugde 21. 20; gedrugad 21. 19; drug (aridus) I 21. 4 (beside drygi 23. 15; v. § 17); lutorlice I 8. 8; duni 26. 30; hidune 4. 6; ofduneastag 7. 25; fiscðrutas 15. 34.

ū is affected by i-Umlaut, § 17.

CHAPTER III. DIPHTHONGS

§ 11. ai.

ā (= WGmc. ai) occurs regularly:

I. In the 1 and 3 sg. pret. ind. of st. vbs. Cl. I: f'draf 8. 16; gewat 27. 5; awrat I 14. 9; avrat I 3. 7; astag 3. 16; astāg 14. 23; arās 2. 14; eftaras I 14. 12; gehran I 18. 2; gehrān 9. 29; toslāt I 19. 3.

18 VOWELS OF THE STEM SYLLABLES

II. The other examples are: tacon I 4. 7; getacnas I 9. 13; fetaceno 24. 24; tān 27. 35 (2); tanages 23. 23; gäst 26. 41; gaast I 5. 8; gaas I 7. 17 (§ 38); snā 17. 2; stān 24. 2; byrðen- 18. 6; coern- 18. 6; huom- 21. 42; facne 5. 8 mg.; metlafo 14. 20; hamas 19. 22; hamcuða I 9. 1; hāl 24. 13; hal 10. 22; unhale 8. 16; hlaf 4. 4; hlafum 14. 17; hlaferd 9. 38; halig 1. 18; gehaliga 18. 11 (beside gehælgas 23. 19 (§ 17)); āð 14. 7; aað 26. 72; að 14. 9; clað 9. 16; fagegas I 1. 2; hād I 2. 5; gehadade 7. 6 mg.; lað 10. 22; laað 24. 9; lā 9. 2; wag(hrahel) 27. 51; agenlic 25. 15; agnegað 5. 5; aht 18. 28; agan 5. 3 mg.; ahte 13. 46; sawle 12. 18; saulum 11. 29; wat 6. 8; nat 24. 50; frasung I 21. 10; gefrasende I 21. 5; ädle 24. 7; adla 24. 8; feberadlum 8. 15; aanum I 4. 1; ān 8. 19; an 1. 12 (beside enne 5. 18 (§ 17)); nann I 2. 8; ar 20. 1; aar 16. 3; are (honor) 13. 57; ārig 19. 19; gearðad 6. 2; arwyrðe I 1. 3; banum 23. 27; hates I 1. 11; hāat 14. 28; haten 26. 3; gihata 5. 33; lāf 22. 24; (h)lafe I 21. 11; lār 7. 28; lar, f'e-, 22. 33; I 16. 5; larwum I 5. 5; ascag 10. 14 mg.; geascade 2. 4; lāt(ducatus) 15. 4; latua(§ 23, VIII) 2. 6; lamwrihtes 27. 7; getahte 22. 34; betaht 1. 18 (S. § 407, anm. 11); gelahete 7. 33 (S. § 407, anm. 10); gerahte 12. 49; brahton 26. 50; maa 21. 36; mara 13. 32; maast I 6. 9; aa 26. 11; brād I 17. 4; dal 24. 51; dālum I 14. 4 (forms with æ v. § 17); hārne I 1. 5; hārwelle I 1. 5; behaues 6. 28; maðmas 12. 29; wācc 12. 20; ðas I 5. 11; ða I 4. 9; ðara I 1. 11; tua (Cos. §§ 77, 87; cf. Fischer p. 5); sade 27. 5; rarende I 7. 12; spatende 27. 30.

For a in sawa, crawa, oncnawa v. § 6; in fās v. § 1.

ō appears instead of ā in: nowiht 10. 26; noht 23. 16 (S. § 62, anm.).

Lea § 39. 2, Lind.² § 31, and Brown § 57, b classify halsiga with ā. See Cook's Gloss., Hall, Sweet (AgS. Dict.), Björkman, Scand. Loan-Words in ME. p. 49, note 3, who give ã. The form in Mt. is halsa (adjurare) 26. 63.

Unexplained: *ātih* 13. 27; *āta* 13. 38; *ata* 13. 30; cf. Kl.-L., Eng. Ety. 'oats.'

Loanwords: *caseres* 17. 24; *casering* 17. 24 (2) (Pog. § 199); (*aldor*) *sacerdas* 26. 3 (=Lat. *ā*; Pog. § 186; S. § 50, anm. 5); *apostol* I 2. 8 (=Lat. *ā*; Cos.¹ § 14); *papa* I 4. 12 (ibid.).

ā is affected by i-Umlaut, § 17.

§ 12. au.

ēa (= WGmc. *eu*) occurs regularly; there are a few cases where *ēo* appears instead of *ēa*. *ēa* occurs:

I. In the 1 and 3 sg. of the pret. ind. of st. vbs. Cl. II: *bebead* 4. 6; *geceas* 12. 18; *geseap* 27. 34.

For the *ēa* (*ēo*) in *speafton* 26. 67; *speofton* 27. 30 v. S. §§ 384, anm. 5; 396, anm. 5; also *Decanatsp.* p. 30.

For *gebrēc* 12. 4 v. S. § 385, anm. 3 and 4.
eae occurs for *ea* in *ageaett* 26. 7 (§ 21).

II. The other examples are: *beam* 7. 4; *fīcbeām* 21. 21; *dead* 2. 19; *deaðes* 4. 16; *deaf* 11. 5; *eare* 10. 27; *earoliprica* 26. 51; *easta* 8. 11; *eastdæl* 2. 2; *eastro* I 22. 3; *eadga* I 4. 2; *eadignise* I 16. 12; *heafod* I 19. 14; *heafodlinges* 11. 16; *leafa* 15. 28; *geleafa* 8. 26; *geleafull* 24. 45; *ungeleafulnise* 17. 20; *read* 16. 2; *felleread* 27. 28 (cf. F. p. 25); *leasne* I 1. 18; *gemelease* I 20. 11; *sacleaso* 28. 14; *ðorleasa* 25. 30; *leaseras* I 17. 15; *leasunge* 23. 28; *screadunga* 14. 20; *ðreata* 8. 1; *ðreatende* 5. 42; *geðreate* 17. 18; *ðreatung* I 18. 19; *stream* 8. 18; *reaf* 22. 12; *brydreaf* 22. 11; *reafende* I 17. 4; *eaða* I 19. 5; *ea* (?) 11. 24; *eaður* 9. 5; *eaðelico* 19. 26; *leafo* (folium) 21. 19; *fleam* 24. 20; *seað* 12. 11; *sceawað* I 1. 7; *gesceauig* 10. 14 mg.; *ædeawe* 13. 35; *ædheaw* 15. 15, &c.; *sceaf* 13. 30; *smeas* 16. 8; *gesmeawdun* 16. 7; *smeawunga* 9. 4 (and compounds); *eawunga* 12. 16; *aheawa* 27. 60; *aheawun* 28. 53 (Cos. § 92); *beam* (tuba) 24. 31; *beameres* (?) 9. 23 (v. NED. 'beam'); also *heanisse* 13. 5 (S. § 165, anm. 3).

ēo for *ēa* occurs in: (h)*leofa* 24. 32; *bibeod* 26. 19;

20 VOWELS OF THE STEM SYLLABLES

speofton 27. 30; ficebeam 21. 19; eoung I 22. 15; leof 3. 17; eoðe 27. 64.

For ðeh 26. 33 v. § 19; for ceawlas 14. 20, &c. v. § 20.

Loanwords: ceapemenn 21. 12; unceaped 10. 8; unceap 10. 8 mg.; v. Kl., PG. I, p. 38; Kl.-L. Eng. Ety. 'cheap'; cf. Franck, Anz. für d. Altert. XXI, 299 ff.

§ 13. eu and iu.

I. ēo (= Gmc. eu) appears as ēa, sometimes ēo (S. § 150, anm. 1; B. § 114). The examples are found:

a. In the present forms of st. vbs. Cl. II: beadas 5. 47; bebeadende 11. 1; ceasa I 4. 11.

b. In other words: ðeod 8. 12; ðeodscip 24. 14; ðeade 8. 28, &c. (3); leof 3. 17; leaf 17. 5; ðleaf 24. 43, &c. (5); deare I 21. 16; reafa (leprosus) 26. 6; bead (mensa) 15. 27; beadas 21. 12; bearscip I 18. 8; feorða 14. 25; fearða I 3. 15 (4); hread 27. 48 (3); gestreonde 21. 41; feorðing 5. 26; heafegde 11. 17; also before w in: cneorese 7. 11, &c. (beside cnewreso 24. 34; v. § 20); hreonissa 3. 8, &c. (beside hrewunisse I 18. 17 (§ 20)); getreowfæstnig I 4. 12.

To WS. dēorling corresponds derling 12. 18.

II. WGmc. iu appears as io (B. §§ 110, 111, 113, 191; S. § 38; Decanatsp. pp. 31, 32): lioda 10. 5 (2); liorað 26. 39, &c.; strion 6. 21, &c.; strionanne I 17. 8, &c.; diorwyrðe 13. 46 (2); ðiostrið 6. 23; of'geðiostrad 24. 29; ðiofunta 15. 19; ðiofonto 19. 18; ellðiodig 25. 14; ellðiodegde 21. 33; vnderðiodid I 3. 12; geliornise 28. 16; onsion 22. 16; before w in: getriowue 9. 2 (beside getriu 9. 22 (§ 20)).

For ēa, ēo in the red. vbs., and in eade, &c. v. § 22.

Loanwords: -preoste I 7. 4 (5); -preastas I 21. 7 (2); v. Lindström, Engl. Stud. XX, 147.

For the i-umlaut of eu v. § 17.

ēo and io are affected by Pal.-Umlaut, § 19.

§ 14. Special Northumbrian Diphthongs.

The special North. diphthongs *ei* and *ai* (v. S. § 155, 3; B. § 505, anm. 1, 2; Lind. § 23; F. § 14) occur as follows:

I. *ei*: *ceica* (§ 19) 5. 39; *ceigeð* (§ 17, VIII) I 16. 10; *ceið* I 6. 17; *ceig* 20. 8; *ceigung* I 14. 2, &c. (beside *gecēyged* 1. 16; 27. 8; no forms with ē); *creicna* (§ 7) I 2. 17; *deiglo* (§ 17, VIII) 13. 35; *deiglice* 1. 19 (3); *gedeigla* 5. 14; *gedeigeldes* 11. 25; *forleites* (§ 6) I 17. 3; *f'leitta* 1. 19; *gebreibengendum* (§ 17, 3) I 16. 3; *geleinade* (§ 6) 12. 22; *leicnade* 12. 15; *heist* (§ 22) 23. 11 (4); *heeist* I 20. 9; *neista* (§ 22) I 21. 13; *leigeðslæhtas* (§ 19, VIII) I 8. 3; *meiden* (§ 17, 2) 9. 24; *neirxnawonga* (§ 19, III) I 6. 2; *seista* (§ 2) 27. 45 (4); *sextieges* (§ 3, II b) I 19. 9; *sexdeih* 13. 8; *streigdæs* (§ 2) 12. 30; *teiða* (§§ 2, II; 47) I 8. 18 (2); *ðeign* I 18. 4; *ðeignas* (§ 2) 5. 1 (6); *ðeigna* I 19. 17; *ðeignum* I 9. 10 (6); *onfeign* (§ 7) I 7. 15 (4); *onfeingon* I 20. 19; *bræcceic* (§ 19, IV) I 20. 7; *reighthness* (§ 19) I 4. 10.

II. *ai*: *befraignes* (§ 2) 6. 32; *gefraignade* 2. 4; *gefraigades* 12. 10; *gefraignas* 10. 11; *gefraignes* 2. 8; *gefraigende* I 21. 13; *gefraignenda* I 18. 4; *gefraigende* I 20. 3; *maiden* 9. 25; *maid* (§ 17, 2) 9. 24; *gestrionaige* (contamination form v. F. § 51, 3) 6. 19.

CHAPTER IV. INFLUENCE OF NEIGHBORING SOUNDS ON STRESSED VOWELS

§ 15. Influence of Nasals.

I. WGmc. *a* before nasals appears regularly as *o*, with the exception of a few instances noted below (S. § 65; B. § 123). The examples are:

1. Before *m*, and *m* + cons.: *noma* 10. 2; *euðnama* I 6. 4; *from* 1. 21; *lichomas* I 17. 9; *huommum* 6. 5; *huomstanes* 21. 42; *somnigo* 25. 26; *gesōmnad* 13. 2; *sommung* 26. 59; *wom* (§ 36) 12. 40; *womb* 15. 17; *lomb* I 8. 2.

22 VOWELS OF THE STEM SYLLABLES

2. Before n, and n + cons.: ȝone I 6. 13, &c.; ȝonę 10. 24; ȝon (asm.) I 7. 6 (beside ȝene I 4. 7 (13); v. § 17); f'hwon I 2. 1; ȝonne I 9. 12 (beside ȝæm 27. 39); ȝon 26. 29; hwona 13. 56; hona 15. 33 (2) (§ 29); huonne 25. 38 (beside huoenne 25. 37 (§ 20)); ȝon (quarn) (beside ȝæm (!) I 6. 9 (2)); f'ȝon 27. 3 (and other compounds); hona 26. 34 (S. § 65, anm. 2); neirxnawonga I 6. 2; (g)wona 19. 20; strong 12. 29; gęblonden I 3. 9; ablönchgne 26. 8 (S. § 395, anm. 2); ȝonecum 15. 36; ȝoncade 26. 27; ȝoncunco 26. 27; monn 17. 8; mones 5. 27; monnewalmo 24. 7; aldormonn 9. 18; monig 7. 22; monigfald 13. 12; monda 16. 10; longe 28. 15; f'long 11. 21; longsum I 5. 7; hond 8. 12; hōnd I 17. 20 (§ 23); hondbreodo 26. 67; lond 13. 38; lōnd 3. 5 (§ 23); londbuend 21. 34; stondende 6. 5, &c.; conn 26. 72; wlonca 19. 24; wlong 27. 57; on (prep.) I 17. 16 (S. § 51); on- (prefix): onsion I 7. 8; onweald 20. 25; ond-: ondeto 7. 23; ondswarede 28. 5; ahongen 26. 2; ahongne 27. 14; honges 22. 40; gehongiga 18. 6; sonde 7. 26; sōnd I 17. 19 (§ 23); ongul 17. 27; inmonge 10. 16; himong I 18. 3; foreonfong I 1. 4 (2); hronsparuas 10. 29.

For geonga v. under pal. influence, § 21.

a is found in: and I 4. 8 (otherwise expressed regularly by the sign 7); also, in 1 and 3 sing. pret. ind. of st. vbs. Cl. III, in nasal + cons.: gesprang I 7. 5; gespranc I 6. 2; sprānc 9. 26 mg. (§ 23); geband 14. 3; geblann 14. 32; gesang 26. 74; onfand 24. 46; ingann I 17. 14; gelamp I 3. 9; dranc 11. 18; arn 28. 9; gebarn 22. 7 (S. § 386, anm. 2, 3; cf. Bülbring, Angl. Beib. IX, 97).

For the a in am 8. 9 v. F. p. 19; S. § 4, anm. 2: cf. Sweet, HES. § 442.

Loanwords: plontade 15. 13; plontunc 15. 13; (heafud) ponnes 27. 33; fotsconol (n for m) 22. 24. a remains unchanged in camele I 21. 16; camella 3. 4; angel I 16. 4 (otherwise with umlaut); anticrist I 6. 17.

II. This ȝ becomes ɔ after the loss of a nasal before a voiceless spirant: oðer I 3. 5; oððer I 9. 11; soð I 1.

INFLUENCE OF NEIGHBORING SOUNDS 23

13; *toðana* 13. 50; *tōð* 5. 38; for the o in *oðð* 28. 15; *oð* 26. 58; *oððe* 17. 25 v. § 2.

III. To Gmc. nasalized ā out of *aŋ*, corresponds ō in: *wohfull* 18. 32; *woes* 22. 18; *brohte* 17. 16; *gebrohtun* 4. 24; *ðoht* (sb.) I 8. 14; *ðohte* 1. 20; *efnegeðohton* I 1. 3; *ahoas* 23. 34; *onfoh* 2. 13, &c.; v. also Contraction, § 22.

IV. WGmc. ā (= Gmc. ē) becomes ō before nasals: *mona* 24. 29; *sōna* 4. 20; *cuome* (2 sg.) 20. 13; *cuome* (opt.) 17. 14; *nomo* 26. 55; *genōmon* 14. 12; for the o of *genōm* 12. 45, &c.; *cuom* 5. 17, &c. v. S. § 390, anm. 2. Lea § 48 places *hwōn* I 17. 4 here, as does Lind.² § 45; F. § 15, 4 says it may belong here; cf. Fischer p. 14; Davidson, PMLA. VI, 121.

This ō is affected by i-Umlaut, § 21.

V. WGmc. e becomes i before old m: *nimeð* 10. 38; *nim* 17. 27.

Loanwords: before nasal + cons. the e of loanwords becomes i: *pinn* I 2. 18 (S. § 69).

VI. WGmc. o before a nasal becomes u (S. § 70, anm.): *cummenum* I 5. 14; *cumas* 4. 19; *genummen* 13. 12; *fruma* I 7. 5; *frumcende* 1. 25; *ðunera* I 8. 3; *gewuna* 27. 15; *gewunelic* I 2. 18; *wunade* 21. 17; *hunig* 8. 4; *brydguma* I 13. 15; *sumer* 24. 32; *wyrtrumme* 13. 6; *untrum* 26. 41; *untrummige* I 18. 2 (other forms with y (§ 17, III)).

Loanword: *pvnderv'* I 2. 3.

§ 16. The Breakings.

I. Before r+cons.

a before r+cons. is broken as a rule to ea; it remains unbroken in a few cases.

1. a before r+cons. is broken to ea in: *geearnade* I 6. 15; *scearpum* 7. 16; *scearpsmeung* I 14. 1; *middangeard* 18. 7; *wingeard* 21. 39; *olebearuas* 26. 30; *eard* 13. 57; *eardegas* 13. 22; *heard* 25. 24; *heartlice* I 9. 11; *innheard-*

24 VOWELS OF THE STEM SYLLABLES

menn 8. 9; nearo 16. 5 (v. S. § 103, anm. 1; beside neruu I 17. 14); hearpa I 8. 2; ðearf 6. 8; ofcearf 14. 10; gewearð 1. 22 (2); gearua 24. 44 (beside georo (§ 29, III) 26. 41); gearwende 27. 28; mettesgearwing 27. 62; f'ueard I 21. 14; innueardlice 2. 8; erfewaerd 21. 38, &c. (forms with æ, a, o, v. §§ 20, 26); earnes I 7. 9.

To WS. ðearfleas corresponds ðor(f)lease 13. 4 (B. § 533 g).

In dearfe I 7. 1; dearflicum I 2. 2; dearfscipe I 7. 2, &c. Scandinavian influence seems not unlikely; cf. Icel. *djarf*.

The ea in stearn 16. 3 is not clear to me.

a remains unbroken in: arg 12. 39; ðarf 9. 2 (6); ðafo (§ 31, III) 26. 11 (beside ðaerfē 5. 3 mg.; unðærfe 2. 6; v. Lea § 12, 4; PG. p. 935); farras 22. 4; naruu 7. 14; arð 6. 9 (18) (v. Sweet, HES. § 442, and F. § 16, 1); hronsparuas 10. 29; darr I 1. 9; gesparrado 6. 6; darste 16. 11; warð, ge-, 26. 20; 16. 2; gewarrp I 21. 3.

Loanwords: carcern 25. 39; carchern 25. 36; carcērn 14. 10; carr 7. 28 (PG. p. 929).

Breaking does not occur before r+cons. resulting from metathesis (S. § 79, anm. 2; Kal. § 57, anm. 13): arn 28. 9.

2. The breaking of e before r+cons. appears as eo in: heorta I 5. 10 (4); miltheorte 5. 7; miltheortnisse 9. 13 (4); eorðu 2. 6 (45); reord 26. 73 (v. Lind. p. 13, anm.); ceorles I 2. 5 (3); georne I 15. 4 (4); lustgeornisse I 17. 3 (v. S., Decanatsp. p. 30); leornadon 19. 4 (12) (v. S. § 416, anm. 12; Decanatsp. p. 34); gereordum I. 19. 4; feorra 26. 58 (2).

eo has become o in ðorofra 26. 17 (corresponding to WS. ðeorf; v. § 48; B. § 330).

3. The breaking of e before r+cons. appears as ea in: mearda 5. 12 (12); cearf 5. 30 (4); clearla I 2. 10; earðo 2. 21 (4); hearta 13. 15 (15); stearra 2. 9 (5) (beside sterra 2. 2); fearr 16. 22 (2). e remains unbroken in serð 5. 21.

4. Only in North. are primitive OE. io and eo differentiated throughout the whole OE. period (B. § 140; S., Decanatsp. p. 26 ff.).

The breaking of WGmc. i before r+cons. appears as io

in: geriordad 14. 20 (4); geriordum 26. 7 (2); hiorde 25. 32 (4); cuoenhiordo 19. 12; giornisse I 17. 6; wifgiornis 15. 1, 9; iornende 27. 48; foreiorne I 7. 2; iornung 9. 20; liornes 24. 15; liornadon 21. 16 (S., Decanatsp. p. 34; B. §§ 132, anm.; 140, anm.).

To WS. *ðeorf* (OHG. *derb*) corresponds *ðorofra* 26. 17 (§ 48; B. § 330).

For the a, æ in farmum I 21. 9; færmum 22. 3, &c. v. § 20. For the i in smirinisse 26. 7; asirres 7. 23 v. § 3.

II. Before l + cons.

1. a remains unbroken in: alde I 2. 4, &c.; aldre 21. 19; aldon 26. 62; aldormonn 9. 18; all 3. 10; alne 27. 27; ålle 24. 39; allre 14. 35; nalles 7. 29, &c. (4); allen 20. 6; allmæhtig I 8. 7; caldes 10. 42; halfe 26. 64: halt 18. 8; salt I 16. 12; saltwælla I 1. 7; dalf 21. 33; monncwalmo 24. 7; hehstald 1. 23; halsa 26. 63 (§ 11); haldanne 21. 46; haldas 27. 65; gehalden 9. 17; bihaldne I 8. 15; haldend I 6. 3; halmas 3. 12; gesalde (5); gesäld 11. 27, &c. (§ 23); asäld 28. 18 (§ 23) (forms with ea, v. below); gefalden I 1. 7; fallas 4. 9; gefallas 12. 11; monigfald 13. 12; monigfaldge 5. 20; monigfallice 5. 20; tuufald 23. 15; tuufallice I 16. 7; gemonigfalded I 20. 4; galla 27. 34; walde 23. 37; walla 6. 31; nallas 23. 4; naldon 22. 3.

ea appears only in forms of sella, such as seallas 24. 24; sealde 25. 15; seallanne I 21. 10; gesealla 7. 11, &c. Both Lind. § 9, I 2 and F. § 16, 2 think the ea may be due to o/a-umlaut (§ 18), and not to breaking.

Loanwords: assales I 21. 2; asalda 18. 6 (v. PG. pp. 334, 929; Lea § 96); salmes I 21. 14.

2. e before l + cons. occurs in seolfa 19. 12; v. B. §§ 138, 140; Lind.² § 54; Dieter p. 773.

III. Before h.

All breakings before h, as well as before consonant groups whose last member is g, c, or h, are simplified by the so-called pal.-umlaut (S. § 158, 1; B. §§ 133, 313; F. § 16, 3). eahteða I 9. 8 is an exception to this rule;

26 VOWELS OF THE STEM SYLLABLES

and perhaps the ēo in neoleces 26. 46, &c. (Angl. ē = WS. æ), v. S. § 165, anm. 3; yet Bülbring, Angl. Beib. X, 107; EB. § 146.

The Umlauts.

§ 17. The i-Umlaut.

I. Umlaut of a.

1. The i-umlaut of WGmc. a before an original single consonant is as a rule e. The examples are: settas 5. 15; geseted I 5. 15; togesetedo I 10. 3; setnessa I 2. 4; gesetnessa I 9. 2; betra 12. 12; ahefeð 12. 35; gehebbes 12. 11; hefig 13. 15; hefiglice 13. 15; hefignise 8. 17; ahefgade 26. 43; legdon 21. 8; alegd 28. 4; here 14. 23; hergum I 6. 19; herenis I 6. 10; geheras I 19. 18; netta 4. 20; elne 6. 27; mett 6. 25; (efen)meti(g) 26. 26; wigbed 5. 23; geteled 7. 24: federe (ds.) 6. 18; selenna I 21. 10; selenise 7. 9; selo 20. 4; sellende 26. 21; geselleð 10. 19 (forms with ea, § 18); awęcces 22. 24; aueccas 10. 8; helles 19. 18; ber(ērn) 8. 12; beretun 3. 12; twelf 10. 1; twelfum 26. 20 (forms with oe, § 20); recceras I 2. 11; reccenise I 2. 7; cynnreccenisse 1. 18; ege 28. 8; ellðiodig 25. 14; ellðiodegde 21. 33; suerias 23. 18; suerige 5. 34; ðerhsuere 5. 33 (beside forms with oe, § 20); gefered 14. 11; f'uered 9. 16; geberede 9. 36; welle (opt.) I 4. 5.

ongægn 25. 6, &c. may belong here; v. §§ 1, 21.

æ occurs in: mæte 26. 7 (B. § 168, anm. 2); sæccendum I 20. 20; gesæcca I 9. 2; onsæcco 10. 33 (beside onsaccas I 6. 16 (3); sacas 27. 13); fædere (ds.) I 14. 14; fæder (3) (§ 1). For plægde 11. 17; geplægde 14. 6 v. S. § 416, anm. 13.

2. a becomes æ in certain words in which an i or j follows upon an original guttural vowel of the middle syllable; cf. S. §§ 50, anm. 2; 100, anm. 4; Lind.² § 65; B. § 174. Examples are: lætmest 5. 26; fæsten I 7. 3; gedæfnad 3. 15; ædgædre 9. 17 (beside ædgeadr 13. 29 (§ 21)).

INFLUENCE OF NEIGHBORING SOUNDS 27

3. a (= Prim. OE. æ) + i before consonant groups appears normally as æ (S. § 89, 2; B. § 169, a; Lind.² § 64). Examples are: fæstas 6. 17; genæglede 27. 31; genæglad 27. 22; mæstelberg 7. 6 mg.; ræstende 9. 10; raest I 8. 6; geræste I 6. 14; geræstun 9. 10.

e (ɛ) occurs in: geefnade I 21. 17; eft 5. 23; restad 26. 45, &c. (5); rête I 18. 19; resto 23. 6; rest 11. 29 (2); esne, efne-, 10. 24; 18. 33; carcērn, ber-, 14. 10; 3. 12; carcern, gemot-, ber-, 25. 39; 27. 27; 6. 26; hnesc 24. 32 (v. S., Beit. XXIV, 383); hnesceniscum 11. 8.

For WS. giest occurs gest 25. 35; gestig 25. 38 (v. Björkman, Scand. Loan-Words in ME. p. 152).

For the i in gehrine (<-**geregno*) I 2. 13 v. Lea § 23, note; Lind.² § 28, anm. 2.

Unexplained: nýdē I 4. 3.

Loanwords: æcced 27.48; plæcena 6. 5; segne 13. 47, &c.; cælces (beside calic 20. 22 (§ 1)) 23. 25; ælmessa 6. 2; allmessa 6. 4 (cf. § 1 for length).

I suspect bæstere 3. 1; bæðcere I 16. 5 to be a corruption of Lat. baptista, with the i causing umlaut, but assimilated to OE. bæð and the ending -ere. If this be true, it is of course impossible to say whether the word belongs here, or, through analogy, under § I, II. It follows that I do not accept Brown's (§ 12, b) assumed connexion with bæðsian <-**baðisōn*; cf. B. § 52I.

4. If an æ, occurring according to rule in early primitive OE., is supplanted by an a which occurs in other forms of the word, or in related words, then this a becomes æ through umlaut from a following i, j (v. B. § 177; S. § 89, 3; Decanatsp. p. 18 ff.). This occurs in the 2 and 3 sing. of sæcga, fara; sæges 26. 70; sæcga 28. 8; sægeð 12. 18; færer 8. 19; færeð 5. 30. Forms without gemination in the 1 sg. pres. ind. are to be regarded as late ones, particularly in the case of habba whose plural forms are built with a: habbað 27. 65; habbas 15. 35. æ occurs in the opt.: hæbbe 19. 16 (5); furthermore, wæccas 24. 42 (6);

28 VOWELS OF THE STEM SYLLABLES

wæcas 26. 41; awæccas 11. 5 (2); mægen 11. 12; mæden 14. 11; ðæcille 5. 15; gæfil 7. 25 (§ 23); hæcla 5. 40; furthermore, ahæfen 23. 12; geslaegen I 19. 4; v. S., Decanatsp. pp. 23, 24; Lind.² § 66; cf. Paul, Beit. V, 74 ff., 240.

5. The i-umlaut of WGmc. a before nasals is e. The examples are: brengað 14. 17; stencgum 26. 55; leng 26. 65; aðenede 8. 3; geðen 12. 13; bendum 11. 2; cende 1. 16; cennisse 6. 21; accenned 2. 2; endung 13. 39; ende 24. 6; ende(brednis) I 2. 16; geendades 21. 16; onfenge I 9. 2; menigo (sb.) 9. 25; menigo (adj.) 8. 1; wlenga 13. 22; benemned 9. 9; genemnedo I 2. 12; sendende 27. 35; gesendnes 21. 6; penning 20. 2; unðuenum 15. 20 (beside unðweanum I 19. 17; v. S. § 392, anm. 2); penningslæht 17. 25; getemeseda 12. 4; ðende 26. 6; tostengcid 26. 31; ðene I 1. 4 (Streitberg § 187, 2 b); ðencendum I 20. 12; men 26. 18; menn 5. 19; mennisce I 17. 7; ofgedreñced 18. 6; henne 23. 37; gemenced 27. 34; gimencged I 3. 9; wendas I 17. 17; eftgewende I 19. 7 (forms with oe, § 20); unscrendende 27. 24; scenc 10. 42; besenced 13. 6; ðuuengu 23. 5; gescrenede 13. 6.

oe occurs in unawoemdo 19. 12, the result perhaps of w influence, as suggested by F. p. 25.

Loanwords: embichta I 5. 14; embehtane 20. 28; embehtmonn 20. 26; engel 1. 20; englum 16. 27; cempo 27. 27; fotscemel 22. 44 (beside fotscemel 5. 35; fotscenol 22. 44; v. Pog. §§ 187, 261).

ō, the result of the loss of n before a voiceless spirant, becomes œ when umlauted in: oehtas 5. 11; oehtnisse, 13. 21; geoehhton 5. 12>*anþjan.

6. The i-umlaut of WGmc. a before r+cons. is e. The examples are: dernunga 19. 18; dernelegere 19. 9; cerrende 27. 39 (beside cearro 12. 44, § 18); gecerdo 7. 6; ofercess 1. 11; gerd 10. 10; gērd 11. 7 (§ 23); merra (sb.) 27. 63; merras 22. 29; huerf 16. 26; huerfa 5. 42; gi-hwerfde I 2. 2; gerelum 11. 8; gegegenes 6. 30 mg.; gege-

INFLUENCE OF NEIGHBORING SOUNDS 29

wad 22. 4; gegeredon 27. 31; ongeredon 27. 31; f'bernes 3. 12; f'berned 13. 6 (B. § 180, b); werges 15. 4; gewer gedra I 1. 11 (forms with oe, § 20); erfeðo 26. 10; erfeweard 21. 38; erfeweardnisse 21. 38; ernineg I 14. 7, &c. (2).

æ occurs in: wærco 24. 8; hwærflung 24. 24; hwærfa 13. 15, probably under influence of w; v. § 20; F. p. 25.

i-umlaut occurs in ehera I 18. 20 (B. § 180, b).

Loanword: meregrotta I 19. 12; meregreotta 13. 46.

7. The i-umlaut of WGmc. a before l+cons. is æ and e. The examples of æ are: ældra 26. 3; ældrum 27. 41 (beside äl drum 10. 21; äldo 16. 1, &c.); eftawælte 28. 2; gewælt eno 17. 14; saltwælla I 1. 7; cælfes I 7. 9 (B. § 175); gehæld 27. 65 (§ 23); fæll 7. 27; gefælde I 21. 11 (B. § 175); gefællnise 1. 12; gesælted 5. 13; bældo I 7. 2.

æ occurs before the secondary combination lc in: swælc 6. 27 (7); huælc 6. 27 (7) (forms with e, v. below; forms with oe, v. § 20; v. also B. § 168, anm. 2).

e occurs in: hwele I 1. 6, &c.; swelc I 3. 3 (beside swilce I 18. 13 (v. S. §§ 342, anm. 3; 345, anm.); eghulc 12. 31); harwelle I 1. 5; hundwelle 18. 8; rumwelle 7. 13 (B. § 175, anm.); celfes I 8. 5. ea occurs in onweald 20. 25.

For the e in felle(read) 27. 28 v. F. p. 25.

Loanword: gecælcad 23. 27 (Pog. § 272).

I . Umlaut of o.

The i-umlaut of o is oe and e. For its occurrence v. S. § 93, anm.; also B. § 164. The examples are: doehter 21. 5; merne 21. 18; oefistende I 7. 15; oefestlice 8. 32; gewoer den 11. 21; gecnoeden 13. 13 (S. §§ 100, anm. 4; 378, anm. 1; Decanatsp. p. 20).

Loanword: oele 25. 3, 4.

III. Umlaut of u.

The i-umlaut of u is y; i and ui occur in a few cases for y (S. § 6, anm. 1).

The examples of y are: geðyld 18. 26; scyld 18. 25; gescyld 18. 34; scyldiga I 20. 13; unschyldig 27. 24; ðynces 26. 66; ymbeyrf I 14. 4; ðyril (sometimes y; S. § 218; B. § 529)

30 VOWELS OF THE STEM SYLLABLES

19.24; cyssende 26.48; snytro 11.19; snytry 13.54; gyrdils 3.4; fwyrd 26.8; wyrtum 13.32; wyrtrumma 3.10; unwyrtrumias 13.29; ðyrstas 5.6; ðyrstende 25.37; ðyrstig 25.35; smyltnisse 8.26; cyme 10.13, &c.; cymmeð 21.38, &c. (S. § 390, anm. 2; PG. p. 433, § 166); hyngrað 5.6; hyngrende 25.37; gehyncgerde 4.2; byrig 1.3 (§ 48); cynig 2.2; cyningum 10.18; undercyniges (PG. p. 935) 27.27; cynemenn 22.2; cynn 3.7; cynnrecenisse I 7.11; cynnresuu I 16.1; eftcynnes 19.28; fyrhtnise 14.26; fyrihsto 28.4 (§ 48); fyllenne 5.17; fyllnise 9.16; fylges 10.38; gefylegdon 27.55 (§ 48); forhyganne I 20.11; hyhtað 12.21; gemynd 26.13; gemyndgade I 19.6; eftgemyndig 26.75; eftgemynas 16.9; styrende 11.7; styrnise 8.24; unstyrendelico 23.4; gestyred 15.22; synn 12.31; hehsynne 12.5; synfullo 9.13; synngade 27.4; synnig 19.9; bærsynnig 18.17; getrymmmeð I. 5.1; untrymnise 4.23; untrymmig 25.36; symbol 22.4; syndrig 25.15; ymb 3.4; ymbhyrf I 1.2; yfia 16.4; geyfled 22.6; wyrccenda 26.10; gewyrcas 6.2; bebyrgdon 14.12; bibyrgnisa (§ 48) 27.7; byrgennes 27.60; byges 13.44; bibycenda I 21.3; byrðen 11.30; byrðenstan 18.6; tocyme I 14.7; (eorð)cryppel 8.6; drysnes 12.20; gedrysned 25.8; undrysnendé 3.12; geondspyrede 15.12; ondspyre 17.27; ondspyrnað 18.8 (4); ondspyrnis 18.7; byrn 20.12; wyrightha 13.55 (§ 48); dyrstige I 7.1; gidyrstig 22.46; gidyrsgindum I 2.2; lysnas 13.8; hryegas 13.17; hrygum 13.7; hryum 7.16 (§ 43); ryfte 27.31; cystum 10.8 mg.; hygdlige 19.12; geyppe 13.35; lyg 11.24 (S. § 263, anm. 5); lycce 26.60; enysað 7.7; enysend 7.8; wynnsumiað 5.12; bilyrtet 2.16; strynda 19.28; enyllas 7.7; enyllende 7.8; gescyfen I 18.11 (S. § 385, anm. 2); nyttanne 5.28; nytt 21.3; dysge 7.26.

For nymðe 13.57 v. MLN. IX, pp. 156, 313, 318; Kal. § 199, 4; scyldrum 23.4 v. § 21; wyrs 9.16; wyrðe 13.46 v. § 20, I.

Unexplained: gewrynded 7.25.

INFLUENCE OF NEIGHBORING SOUNDS 31

For the origin of *y* in *dyde* and North. *styð* (S. § 263, anm. 5) v. Sievers, *Beit. XVI*, pp. 235, 236; Kl., PG. p. 402, §§ 102 ff.; B. § 556, anm. The examples are: *dydest* 20. 12; *dyde* I 21. 5 (17); *ðyde* 25. 5 (§ 39); *dydon* 7. 22 (11); *f'dyde* 22. 7; *gedyde* 13. 26 (2); *gedydon* 12. 14 (2); *styde* 21. 1; I 9. 17; *stydum* I. 10. 4.

ui (*wi*) for *y* occurs in *bærusuinnig* I 6. 4 (4); *unsuinnigo* 12. 7; *gefulgide* I 8. 3; *tonuicte* I 8. 15; *suindrig*e I 9. 9, &c. (12); *suindir* I 3. 7; *swindrigum* I 4. 1; *suindria* 19. 6; *ymbhuirft* (?) 24. 14; *wuire* (?) 21. 28.

i for *y* occurs in (B., *Angl. Beib.* X, 7; EB. § 307, e; S. § 31, anm.): *cining*, *cinig* 1. 6; *drihten* 8. 21 (always); *hinegrig* 25. 35; *bisen* I 4. 4 (yet cf. Lind. § 72, anm.); *scile* 6. 24; *lamwrihtæs* 27. 10; *lamwrihta* 27. 7; *ofcimes* 15. 11; *awurigde* 27. 5; *ymbhuirft* (?) 24. 14; also in the proper names: *ægípt* 2. 15; *ægíptum* I. 5. 6; *tiro* 11. 21; *sirisc* I 6. 10; *hesichio* I 2. 11; *babilones* 1. 11.

For the *i* in *wircas* 5. 32, &c. v. § 19, V.

e for *y* occurs in: *(ende)brednis* I 2. 16 (S. § 180); for Lat. *y* in *efne* 26. 30; *yv* in *byvrug* 22. 7; *yui* in *hryuic* I 7. 18; *uy* in *suyndriga* I 9. 1; *iy* in *liycce* 26. 60.

y for *i* occurs in: *gestylton* 12. 33; *wiðstylta* 21. 21; *symle* 9. 14 (5); *geceyged* 1. 15 (2); *ðyostrum* 8. 12; *ðyne* 4. 12 *mg*; *ðys* 12. 42 (2); *wynnas* 6. 28; *wynnunnga* 13. 26; *wynstra* I 22. 3; v. B. § 282; in the proper name: *moyses* 8. 4; *y* for Lat. *e* in *trymes* 17. 27.

As *w* was frequently written *u*, and *y* sometimes *ui*, the scribe may easily have slipped from *wi* to *y*, which is probably what occurs in *tyggum* 13. 32.

Loanwords: *cyrtel* 5. 40; *cyrtras* 10. 10; *mynitre* 22. 19; *mynetrum* 25. 27; *gescyrted* 24. 22 (2) (PG. p. 338); *spyne* 27. 48; *spynga* 27. 48; *bytto* 9. 17 (PG. p. 335).

IV. Umlaut of *ō*.

1. The i-umlaut of *ō* is *œ*. The examples are: *foedas* 6. 26; *foedendum* 24. 19; *gefoede* 8. 30; *bōec* I 20. 14; *boec* I. 1. 13; *boecer'* I 2. 3; *boetas* I 3. 13; *eftgeboetat* I 2. 2;

32 VOWELS OF THE STEM SYLLABLES

geboettande I 3. 8 (beside gebeotes I 14. 13, scribal error); doege 26. 29; doemeð I 7. 16; gedoemendo 20. 10; doema (sb.) I 1. 2; doemeras 12. 27; foerde 19. 15; gefoerende 25. 15; gedroefed 14. 26; foedemenn 14. 13; foet I 7. 17; froefra 2. 18; gefroefred 5. 4; woepende 2. 18; broemende I 5. 5; gloetas I 7. 18; geroefa 27. 2; froecenlic I 1. 4; hroedō 8. 28; oeðel 3. 5; fæderoeðel I 19. 14; moeder 15. 4, 5; broeðer 7. 4; hroerende 27. 39; inhroered 27. 51; hroernis 8. 24; eorðhroernise 27. 54; grōetas 10. 12; groetengo 23. 7; unspoedge 5. 3 mg.; bloedsende I 20. 16; gebloesad 21. 9 (beside gebleosad 21. 9, scribal error); woestern 4. 1; woestig I 19. 19; gewoested 12. 25; tuoentig I 8. 2; soecað 7. 7 (beside socenda I 17. 13), &c.; soel 19. 27; boege 15. 14; unblīðmoede 26. 37; gemoette 20. 6 (beside gemitte 18. 18 (§ 23)); wloeh 23. 5; scoea 10. 10.

5 occurs in: gebledsade 14. 19; gebledsad 23. 39 (§ 23); westig 23. 38; werignise 6. 34; suēt 11. 30; gefero I 20. 14; sellra 10. 31 (§ 23); teða 8. 12.

2. öē is the i-umlaut of ö (= Gmc. æ) before nasals in: woeno 24. 6; marawoen 7. 11; woenas 24. 50 (beside wenes 18. 1); woende I 3. 8; cwoen I 19. 6 (beside cuen 12. 42); portcwoeno 21. 31 (beside -cuenum I 21. 7); cuoenhiorðo 19. 12.

For oe in the verb doa v. S. § 429, anm. 2; cf. Cos. § 79.

V. Umlaut of ū.

1. The i-umlaut of ū is ī. The examples are: untynes 5. 19; üntynde 9. 30 (§ 23); getyndon 13. 15; byeð 19. 29; unbyid I 19. 19; unbyedum I 7. 12; gebyedon 12. 45; brydes 22. 11; brydgum 25. 5; brydlic 22. 12; brydlopa 22. 2; brydreatf 22. 11; drygi 23. 15; dryia 12. 43; drug (druig?) I 21. 4; drui I 19. 1 (§ 42); dryi 12. 10; gehydde 25. 25; gehýded 10. 26; (h)ryno 13. 11; geryno 4. 13 mg.; (w)yt-mesto 8. 12; geðryde I 3. 7; geðryhton I 3. 4 (S. §§ 117, anm.; 408, anm. 18); lydeng 25. 6; fyr 13. 40.

In ðyrl I 6. 1 <*þyrl (burh) secondary lengthening may occur (B. § 529).

INFLUENCE OF NEIGHBORING SOUNDS 33

For the *y* in *lytel* 5. 19 v. S., *Beit.* X, 504; cf. Kl.-L., Eng. Ety.; for *scuia* 4. 16; *shya* I 6. 6; *of'seyade* 17. 5 v. § 21.

Loanword: *dryum* 2. 16 (S. § 266, anm. 2).

2. The *i*-umlaut of *ū* from *un* is *y*. The examples are: *cyðað* 26. 62; *cyðic* 26. 73; *cyðnise* 24. 14; *f'cyðde* I 21. 12; *yðum* 8. 24.

VI. For the umlaut of *ē* (= Gmc. *æ*, WS. *ā*) v. S § 91; B. § 192; F. p. 13; Lea § 45.

VII. Umlaut of *ai*.

The *i*-umlaut of *ai* (= OE. *ā*) is *æ*; there are a few instances of *ē*.

1. *æ* occurs in: *gebrædon* 21. 8; *braeda* I. 17. 20; *hæto* 20. 12; *cægum* I 20. 4; *caegas* 16. 19; *mænende* 9. 23; *gemænas* 5. 5; *gemænnisse* I 7. 3; *uraeðes* 5. 22; *wuraeðde* 18. 34 (beside *wuraðo* 3. 7); *clæðdon* 25. 36 (v. Björkman, Scand. Loan-Words in ME. p. 108, note); *stænas* 23. 37; *stænna* 26. 7; *stæner* 18. 5; *staener* 13. 20; *gestændon* 21. 35; *sæs* 14. 24; *sæs* 18. 6; *sæburug* 4. 13; *saes* 8. 27; *æhta* 19. 22; *hwæte* 13. 25; *læðdon* 5. 44; *læððo* 6. 24; *læðo* 5. 43 (2); *laæðo* 20. 13; *lædes* 7. 14; *tolæddon* 21. 7; *gelaedon* 27. 2; *gelaede* I 2. 10; *ingelaede* I 5. 15; *hæðna* 20. 25; *hædnum* 10. 18; *gelæfed* 15. 37; *lærende* 21. 35; *laerde* I 20. 13, &c.; *hæleð* I 18. 2; *haelde* 21. 14; *hælendes* 14. 1; *haelend* I 6. 8; *hælo* I 6. 11; *gehæled* I 19. 9; *un-hælo* 9. 35; *clænum* 27. 59; *clænlige* I 8. 8; *claennisse* 1. 18 mg.; *clænsas* 10. 8; *æfre* 5. 34; *ær* 5. 12; *aer* 23. 13; *ærrum* 12. 45: *ærest* I 4. 3; *ærðon* 26. 34; *ræceð* 7. 9; *ræces* 7. 10: *ae* 22. 40; *æs* 22. 35; *æ* 7. 12; *æq* I 2. 13; *gemærum* 6. 2; *gespræde* 8. 3; *dælum* 27. 51; *daelum* I 6. 11; *eastdæl*, *wes-*, 2. 2; 24. 27; *suðdæles* 12. 42; *dæ-lenne* 10. 35; *ænig* 12. 29; *æniht* 19. 10; *ænigmon* 12. 19; *nænig* 24. 36; *nænigmonn* 22. 46; *næniht* 17. 20; *næfre* 9. 33; *ællef* I 22. 9; *ællefta* 20. 6 (with shortening according to Lind.² § 75); *tuæm* I 14. 3 (beside *tucem* I 17. 9); *huæm* 11. 16; *chwæm* I 9. 13 (§ 44); *ðær* (gsf.) 1. 6; *ðære*

34 VOWELS OF THE STEM SYLLABLES

20. 8; ðære (gp.) 22. 9; ðæm (dp.) 13. 11; ðaem 9. 2; læs 5. 25; leæs 4. 6; læssa I 3. 7 (beside leasse I 3. 7; leasest I 20. 10; v. S. § 312, anm.; B. § 246; Lind. § 75); ænne I 14. 14 (S. § 324, anm. 1); mæðon 26. 53; (dæg)huæm 26. 55; -hæmlice 20. 2; æne (av.) I 1. 7; æterna 12. 34 (v. NED. 'ator,' 'adder'); gehælgas 23. 19; gehælgenne 10. 14 mg.; gælso 13. 22; tæslicro 25. 9.

hæl in la hæl usic (= osanna) 21. 15, &c. is regarded by Kl., PG. p. 933 as a Scand. loanword. The form hælig which he mentions p. 1034 is not given by Cook. Björkman, ibid. p. 39, regards this word as 'dubiously Scand.'

(h)ræs 8. 32; inræsdon 7. 25 is a difficult word; v. Cos. § 57; Kl.-L., Eng. Ety. 'race'; Lea § 42, 1; Björkman, ibid. p. 96 and notes.

æ = WGmc. ai occurs in wæ 11. 21 (beside wę 23. 27; v. Lea § 43, 5; PG. p. 935; Björkman, ibid. p. 39).

For the æ in mædne 14. 11 (secondary lengthening) v. § 43; in (h)ræfneð 6. 24 v. Paul, Beit. VI, 553; PG. p. 426, § 156.

strædena (passus) 5. 41 is not clear, unless it be from the pret. sg. stem of stridan, as seems probable.

hwæstredon (murmurare) 20. 11 is not clear. May not the root be the same as in hwēzan, hwæsan? cf. S. § 396, 2 b.

2. ē occurs in: huuete I 9. 10; aergelered 14. 8; eghuelc 5. 22, &c.; egðer 13. 30; enne 5. 18, &c. (with shortening; v. S. § 324, anm.; B. §§ 179, anm.; 337); geneolecas 26. 45 (beside geneolocedon 4. 11; geneolacede 4. 3, &c. (3); v. B. § 427); esuice 5. 47; esuica 13. 22; gebredon 21. 8 (B. § 516); flesc 16. 17; v. B. § 167, anm.

Loanwords: cæseres I 20. o; cæsarienisca I 3. 2; ðræles I 20. 13; ðrael 24. 48 (v. Kl., NStB. § 18; Björkman, ibid. p. 19). For ællmessā 6. 4; allmissā I 17. 6 v. §§ 1, 17.

VIII. Umlaut of au.

The i-umlaut of au (= OE. ēa) is ē. The examples are: becon 24. 3; gebecnades I 4. 10; neten I 8. 4; hremende

INFLUENCE OF NEIGHBORING SOUNDS 35

2. 18; *degelnisse* 6. 6; *dēglīce* 20. 17; *ðeglihe* 24. 3 (§ 39); *gedegled* I 7. 8; *cepinc* 22. 5; *cepe* 13. 45; *cepemon'* 21. 12; *nede* I 5. 8; *geneddon* 27. 32; *nedgaefel* I 20. 8; *nednima* 23. 25; *nedunga* 11. 12; *heg* 6. 30; *lef* 8. 21; *gelefdest* 8. 13 (*beside gelæfdon* I 6. 6); *gēm* 18. 15; *gemende* 6. 25; *gemnise* 9. 12; *geme(me)lease* (scribal error) I 20. 11; *herdon* 10. 27; *herranne* 13. 9; *hernisses* 11. 15; *hernise* 13. 14; *geherenadon* 22. 22; *recels* 2. 11; *beges* 18. 4; *underbeged* I 3. 11; *eðre* 10. 15; *alesenis* 20. 28; *eftlesing* 20. 28; *ðepeð* (depeð) 26. 23; *eccanne* I 1. 9; *geecte* I 22. 1 (v. Cos. § 12; Kal. § 61, c); *ungelefenra* I 21. 11; *ungelefenise* 13. 58; *gesene* (v. S. § 222, 2; F. § 17, VII; Lea § 60); *eðmod* 11. 29; *eðmodiges* 18. 4.

ei (ey) for e appears in all forms of *ceiga*; also in *leigeð-slaehtas* I 8. 3; *deiglo* 13. 35; *gedeigeldes* 11. 25; v. § 14.

IX. The i-umlaut of iu (= WGmc. i before r+cons.) does not occur in North.; v. B. § 187.

X. Umlaut of iu, eu.

In Anglian iu, io (ēo?) remain un-umlauted (§ 13; B. § 191; cf. S. § 159, 5; F. § 17, VIII).

In Decanatsp. p. 31 and note, S. states that the io in *diopnise* 13. 11 is umlauted by the suffix -nis; also that *hriofol* 8. 3 is the umlaut form from **hreufuli*.

§ 18. u- and o/a-Umlaut.

Only the palatal vowels e, i, and æ are affected by u- and o/a-umlaut in North. (S. § 160, 2; B. §§ 226, 231; Angl. Beib. IX, 67, note). This umlaut is caused by an original u or o/a of either a derivative suffix, or of an inflexional syllable (S. §§ 101-7; B. § 227); and as a rule penetrates only single consonants, though it sometimes occurs before double consonants (B. §§ 244, 245). As do the breakings-diphthongs eo and io, so also do the umlaut-diphthongs eo and io maintain their individuality in North. (S., Decanatsp.

86 VOWELS OF THE STEM SYLLABLES

p. 26 ff.; B. § 236). e becomes eo and ea according as u or a causes the umlaut, with only an occasional exception like mealo (<*melu) 13. 33 (B. § 236).

1. e>eo caused by an original u, o of a derivative suffix: hefone 14. 19 (beside heafnas 5. 45 (2)); hefonlic 5. 48; seofona 15. 34; seifo I 20. 13 (beside sefo 18. 21 (§ 34)); seeofallice I 19. 7; seofunda I 13. 17.

ea occurs in: seatul 23. 2; seatlas 23. 6; ceatlas 21. 12 (§ 42) as the result of a secondary vowel in the derivative syllable.

2. e>eo, ea caused by an inflexional u or o/a: ongeota I 14. 15; eottað 26. 26; eottanne 26. 17; feolo 6. 7; feole 13. 5; heono 11. 10 (beside heno 2. 9; ^heno 1. 20; heuno 12. 47, which is a scribal error; v. S., Decanatsp. p. 30); hondbreodo 26. 67; geana 16. 9 (3); geafa 2. 11; geafanne I 16. 15, &c.; beara 3. 11; begeatas, on-, 7. 7; 7. 16 (2); eftongeattas I 15. 3; eottas 15. 2; eatta 6. 31; mealo 13. 33; f'stealas 6. 19; f'steala 27. 64; gecueada 7. 22; hearta 16. 2.

3. i>io is caused by an original u of the derivative suffix: cliopade 14. 30; clioppadon 14. 26 (no forms without umlaut; v. S. § 370); cliopung I 15. 1; ðiosne 11. 23 (S. § 105, anm. 8); hlionade 26. 20; gelionodon 14. 9; gristbiottung 8. 12, &c. (5); wirotlice 2. 3; wirotlice 2. 10; hioful I 7. 9 (of this word Sievers writes: 'Das Wort erscheint nur Mt. I. 7. 9 und ist von Skeat (und danach von Cook) missverstanden. Ersterer bemerkte zur Stelle "MS. nioful, alt. to hioful," es steht aber (nach meiner Collation) hioful da, und das ist in hnioful aufzulösen = WS. hnifol, wofür bei Bosworth-Toller Belege gegeben sind.' Decanatsp. p. 31).

4. i>io is caused by an original u of the inflexional syllable: wrioto 26. 56: wuriotto, ge-, 26. 54; 22. 29; arioson 25. 7; sciopum 13. 48; ædwuioton 27. 44; bioðon 11. 18.

For ðiofunta 15. 19; ðiofonta 19. 18 v. § 13; S., De-

canatsp. p. 31. For *io* in *hiorodæs* 13. 27 v. § 29; S. § 43, anm. 4.

o/a-umlaut occurs in *hiora* I 6. 5 (beside *hiara* 6. 14; *heora* 9. 4 (2); *heara* 6. 5; v. S., Decanatsp. p. 32); *niomað* 19. 11; *niomonde* 26. 57; *niomende* 27. 27, &c. (2); *niomas* 25. 28; *niomanne* 5. 40 (2); *geniomes* 11. 12; *genioma* 12. 1 (3); *rioppas* 6. 26; *liomana* I 20. 11; *nioðaweard* 27. 51; *nioðmesta* 2. 16.

As *umlaut* of *y* which perhaps had previously become *i* there occur in Mt.: *sciolon* 13. 13 (2); *sciolun* 5. 46; *sciol'* 13. 13; v. B. § 252; S., Decanatsp. p. 27, note 3.

As *umlaut* of *æ*, according to B. § 251, occur: *geadrias* 13. 29, &c. (11); v. § 21, II; furthermore in: *gefeastnadon* I 22. 6; *soðfeastnisse* I 16. 14; *wisfeast* 19. 21 (beside *efnegerfestmade* I 21. 7; *meassa* I 22. 14).

u- o/a-umlaut occurs before double consonants occasionally (B. §§ 245–50). The following instances occur: before *ss*, *æ* in: *meassa* I 22. 14; perhaps also *æ*—*œ* in *leasse* I 3. 7; before *ll*, *e* in: *seallanne* I 21. 10; *sealla* 14. 7, &c. (v. F. § 18, b; cf. S. §§ 80, anm. 2; 158, 2); before *rr*, perhaps *e* in: *cearro* 12. 44; before *nd*, *i* in *bihionda* 4. 25; before *st*, *æ* in: *gefeastnadon* I 22. 6, &c. (v. § above); before *lf*, *i* in *seolfern* I 22. 5 (beside *sulfer* 10. 9; v. B. §§ 239, 326; Lind.² § 87).

§ 19. So-called Palatal Umlaut.

The following study is based upon S. §§ 108–9; 161–5, and Bülbring, Angl. Beib. VII, IX, X; EB. chaps. 10, 16; also §§ 512–6. For the reasons suggested by F. § 19, it has seemed best to me not to attempt to distinguish the so-called palatal umlaut ('ebnung') from the real palatization of 'certain vowels and diphthongs before *ht*, *hs*, *hp* when not immediately followed or preceded by a velar vowel' (B. § 193, anm.).

I. *ea* becomes *æ* before *h*, *ht*, *x* (= *hs*): *gesæh* 3. 16;

38 VOWELS OF THE STEM SYLLABLES

gesægh 2. 16; gesaeh 9. 2 (5); æhteða I 3. 17 (beside eahteða (§ 16, III) I 9. 8); mæht 8. 2; mæhtu 5. 36; maehton 17. 19; mæhton 17. 16; mæhtum I 18. 12; allmæhtig, un-, I 8. 7; 19. 26; wæxas 6. 28; gewæx I 3. 6; vrittsæx I 2. 18; gewaehten I 18. 5; slæhtas 4. 9; leigeðslahtas I 2. 18; penningslæht 17. 25.

e appears in: efnebeðeht 6. 29; awehton 8. 25; geweht I 8. 10 (S. § 162, anm. 3); and eae in efnegeðeahtas 18. 19.

F. § 19, I explains the e (i) of embeht as a secondary suffix-ablaut o: e, whereby the i-umlaut of the first syllable is also explained; but cf. Lea § 18, 1 b. The following are the forms in Mt.: embichta I 5. 4; embigto 25. 44; embehtane 20. 28; geembighthæs I 18. 2; geembehtadon 4. 11; geembihtatun I 5. 3; geembehte 4. 10; embehtmonn 20. 26; embihtmonn 28. 11.

Pal. influence, perhaps, occurs in almissa I 17. 6 (B. § 516).

ea becomes e before rc, rg: bergum I 17. 13; mæstelbergas 7. 6 mg.; mercum I 9. 14; mercande 27. 66; mercunga I 9. 19.

æ appears in the loanword: ærce 24. 38; aerca I 6. 3 (v. Kl., PG. p. 334).

II. ēa becomes ē before h, g, c: heh 4. 8; hehstald 1. 23; heghseðel 23. 22; lege (bege) 27. 29; becon 24. 3; ego 5. 29; lehtunum 23. 23; beges 18. 14; gebrēc 12. 4; gebrecon 13. 4 (2) (the pl. pret. formed with vowel of the sg. pret.); ec 22. 8 (17); ec 1. 21 (27); eēc I 2. 1; nec 10. 24 (no forms with æ; cf. F. § 19, II); ðeh 26. 33 (beside ðah 5. 29 (2); v. S. § 163, anm. 1; cf. B., Angl. Beib. IX, 100; EB. §§ 317, 454); neh 24. 32; genehuas 19. 5 (v. S. §§ 163, 165, anm. 3; cf. B. § 199; F. § 19, IV); deg 16. 26 (S. § 421, 3); gefleh I 16. 4.

III. eo becomes e before h, c, g, x (=hs), ht, rc, rh: geseh 8. 4; feh 10. 9; gefehtana 24. 6; reht 20. 4; recta I 7. 13; rehtlice I 5. 10; rehtnise 12. 36; sex 17. 1; sexdig 13. 23 (v. B. § 211); berhto I 9. 10; werces I 15. 4 (forms with oe, v. § 20); ðerh I 6. 3 (beside ðorh 26. 24; v. B. § 454;

INFLUENCE OF NEIGHBORING SOUNDS 39

F. § 19, III); *sprecca* 10. 20; *recone* 21. 2; *hreconlice* 28. 8; and the loan-word *reglas* I 3. 2.

æ appears in *cnæht* 2. 9, &c.; *ræhta* 3. 3; a in *eren-draca* I 18. 7; ei in *neirxnawonga* I 6. 2; *reihtniss* I 4. 10; *ceica* 5. 39; v. § 14; S. § 164, anm. 1; B. § 211.

IV. ēo becomes ē before c, g, h, ht: *flegende* 8. 20; *flegendo* 6. 26; *flege* 23. 24; *bræcsec* 4. 24; *bræccēc* 17. 15 (beside *bræcceic* (?) I 20. 7 (§ 14)); *legere* 15. 7; *rēcende*, *smēcende* 12. 20; *leht* 4. 16; *fleh* 2. 13.

Palatal influence may appear in *brest* I 6. 14; v. F. § 19, IV.

V. io becomes i before c, g, h, rc, rg, *hχ*, ht, hð: *wiht* 14. 26; *æniht* 19. 10; *næniht* 5. 13; *givixla* I 3. 1; *gesihða* 17. 9; (*h*)*rihð* I 2. 4; *rihtannæ* I 2. 14; *girihtad* I 2. 17; *nigona* 18. 12 (2); *gibirigde* 27. 34 (§ 48); *tuigge* 24. 32 (beside *tyggum* (§ 17, III) 13. 32); *wireas* 5. 32 (2); *geuirce* 5. 36; *uinwirccendum* I 21. 8; v. B. §§ 201; 262, anm.

VI. io becomes ī before c, h, x (= hs), ht: *lihteð* 5. 15; *geinlihted* I 21. 2 (beside *lehteð* 5. 16; v. S. § 165, anm. 2; B. §§ 198; 515); *lixeð* 13. 43; *lixung* I 16. 13; *lihtre* 10. 15 (beside *leht* (levis) 11. 30; v. S. § 165, anm. 2; B. § 199); *bituih* 3. 9 (S. § 165, anm. 2; B. § 196); *flias* 24. 16; *ciccenø* 23. 37 (B. § 195); *wigbed* 28. 19 (S. § 222, anm. 1).

With the early disappearance of h before voiced consonants this smoothing ('ebnung') of the diphthong did not take place, as in: *neoleces* 26. 46; *heanisse* 13. 5 (v. § 16, III; S. § 165, anm. 3).

§ 20. Influence of Labials.

Angl. Beib. X, 368 ff. contains an article by Bülbring, 'Zur altnordhumbrischen Grammatik.' After a detailed consideration of certain phenomena in Lind., Lea, and Cook (Gloss.), Bülbring suggests it as probable that wo in 'suoæ' and wu in 'wuræðde' stand for initial w (v. also EB. § 463). He furthermore deduces that such forms as oeg, soestra,

40 VOWELS OF THE STEM SYLLABLES

coeð, woep, &c., have not lost their initial consonant sound, since (apart from *nyste*, *nyte*, &c.) the loss of initial *w* before palatal vowels does not occur. Therefore, it is likely that these words are to be read *geg, coeð, sqestra, wœap, &c.* B. also calls attention to the fact that *wo*, *uo*, and *o* for *w* do not occur before *i*, suggesting that this may indicate a fine distinction in pronunciation.

I. Under the influence of preceding *w*:

1. *e* (=Gmc. *e*) is frequently changed to *oe*: *woeg* (stater)

I 20. 9; *woegas* 7. 2 (beside *wæges* 5. 11; *gewegen* 7. 2 (§ 2); *wecg* I 20. 9); *eghwoelcum* 5. 7 mg. (2); *woerc* I 18. 8; *woercmenn* 20. 1, &c. (2); (*hwelc*)*huooge* 20. 20; *hwoth-hwoego* 5. 23; *woel* 3. 17; *woeg* 4. 15, &c.; *uoeg* 5. 25 (beside *weg* 7. 13; *oeg* 10. 10; *wegana* 22. 9); *suefnun* 1. 20 (beside *soefen* 27. 19; *soefnum* 2. 19; *suefnun* 2. 12); *suoester* 12. 50 (2) (beside *soestra* 19. 29); *cuoeðes* 25. 40; *cuoeðað* 11. 17; *cwoeða* 26. 22; *cwoeðenne* I 8. 8; *cwoeðende* I 5. 1; *acwoedni* 26. 30 (v. S. § 370, anm. 7; Paul, *Beit. VI*, 38); *dwoellende* I 20. 12 (beside (*ge*)*duellas* 22. 29 (§ 2)); *bewoedded* 1. 18; *huelpas* 15. 27 (B. § 277); *woesta* 8. 11; *huoeðer* 26. 22 (2); *huoeðre* 3. 8 (beside *hueoðer* 12. 23 (scribal error); *hueðer* (§ 2) 7. 6, &c.); *soðhuoeðre* 11. 24 (v. Morsbach, p. 131; cf. S. § 156, 1).

æ occurs in *wæra* 27. 52; *wæs* (imp.) 2. 13 (B. § 92, anm.).

2. *é* is changed to *oe*: *eftgewoende* 2. 14, &c. (3); *gewendas* 10. 13, &c. (2); *ðonagewoende* 4. 12 (2); *huoenne* 25. 37, 44 (beside *hoenue* 24. 3; *huonne* 25. 38; v. S. § 65, anm. 2); *twoelfa* I 5. 6; *twoelfum* 5. 25; *tuelf* 14. 20; *tuelfe* 11. 1; *awoergedo* 25. 41 (beside *werges* 15. 4; *gewergedra* I 1. 11); *suoeriga* 23. 16 (forms with *e*, v. § 17).

The *æ* in *swælce* I 7. 8; *hwælc* 24. 44, B. § 168, anm. 2 regards as due to *w*-influence; *hwærfa* 13. 15 should be included here. *w*-influence may occur in *unawoemdo* 19. 12; v. § 17.

INFLUENCE OF NEIGHBORING SOUNDS 41

3. ē (= WS. æ) is changed to œ; instances of unchanged ē are not rare. The examples of œ are: woepenmann 19. 4; woedes I 17. 10; hwōer I 18. 3; woere 11. 23; cuoede 26. 25; cuoedon 19. 10; cuoeðon 12. 38; swoese 22. 4; and in the following words where the ē is of various origins: gewroeged 27. 12; twoege 26. 60; twoe I 2. 11; tuoeg 14. 17; twoegera I 14. 3; tuoentig I 8. 2; woe 9. 14; uoe 17. 18.

4. æ is changed to oe in cuoeð 4. 6 (beside cuoeð 12. 44); cwoeð I 5. 1.

5. eo (from breaking, or u- o/a-umlaut) is changed to o: cuoða 27. 64; cuoðas 28. 7; cuoðað 28. 13; cuoðende 14. 27 (5); cuoðen' I 16. 14 (beside coðas 17. 20; cuaða (inf.) 21. 45); wosað 28. 9; wosas 5. 48; wosa 4. 19; wossa 20. 27; wossanne 17. 4 (v. F. § 20, V for an explanation of the occurrence of double forms like cuoeðo, cuoðað in comparison with wosa); f'uost 10. 25; worpes 8. 31 (beside towærpað 27. 40); worpende 27. 5; f'worpnise 1. 17; sword 26. 52; worðum 6. 5; worð (altus) 10. 8; worð (pretrum) 27. 6; f'worðes 5. 13; geworðade 15. 25; worðung I 19. 13; worold 12. 32; wor'les 13. 49.

6. ea is changed to a, sometimes æ (S. §§ 156, 3; 160, anm. 2; B. § 270): walana 13. 22 (B. § 270); warðe 13. 48; gewarð I 3. 9 (beside awærð 13. 21; gewearð (§ 16) 1. 22 (2)); warðe 13. 48 (beside wearðe 13. 2); gewarpp I 21. 3; onduarde 12. 39 (3); geonduarde (3); forward I 14. 5; foruuard I 10. 1 (beside erfewaerd I 5. 5; touærd 12. 32; ufwærð 27. 51); waras 14. 35 (beside wæra 27. 52; wearā I 19. 5); burguaras 3. 5; burgwarum I 19. 6 (beside burg-wæras 2. 3); hwarf 27. 64 (beside hwærflung 24. 24); dwala (?) I 3. 12 (v. B. § 270).

For tua 3. 5 (4) v. S. § 166, anm. 4.

7. io (from breaking, or u- o/a-umlaut) is changed to w: wutedlice 5. 21; uutedlice 15. 20; uut' 10. 19; utuetlice 18. 16; wuted I 1. 13, &c. (beside wirotlice 2. 3; ueototlice 3. 16; wirotlice 2. 10; woetetlice 1. 24; wuototlice 3. 1;

42 VOWELS OF THE STEM SYLLABLES

wotetlice 1. 21); wuton 22. 16; uutas 16. 3; uuðwuta 15. 1; wuðuutum 20. 18; udu 3. 4.

For the y in wynstra I 22. 3; wynnas 6. 28; wynnung 13. 25 v. B. § 282.

The i-umlaut of this *wu* is *y* (S. § 156, 4; B. § 262): licewyrðe 11. 26; wyrðe, ar-, dior-, 13. 46; I 1. 3; wuyrse 27. 64; wyrs 9. 16; wyrresto 12. 45.

II. Under the influence of preceding *f*, *ea* becomes *a*, *æ*: farmum I 21. 9 (2); färmo 22. 8, &c. (4) (B. § 272).

III. Influence of following *w* (*w*-umlaut):

8. The groups ēow and īow as a rule appear as *ew* (*eo*, *eu*) and *iw* (*io*, *iu*), being perhaps only graphically shortened (S. § 156, anm. 5; B. § 255 ff.): fewer I 6. 2; feuer I 8. 1; feor 15. 38 (3); fewr I 8. 8 (beside feour I 9. 6; fewer I 3. 8 (3); feowerteno 1. 17 (3)); feortig I 16. 8; feuortig 4. 2 (beside feowertig 4. 2); trewufæst 25. 21 (beside getreow-fæstnig I 4. 12); getrewed 27. 43; getreudon 27. 20; getriu 9. 22; hrewunise I 18. 7; hreunisse I 16. 9 (beside hreownise 27. 3, &c.); eoung I 22. 15; oncneu 16. 11 (beside oncnæw 13. 23; v. B. § 114, anm. 2); ædeuað 8. 7; æthewene I 1. 11 (v. § 29, III); cnewreso 24. 3; cneurise 1. 1, &c.; cnew 27. 29; cneorese 7. 11, &c.; cynreswu I 14. 3 (beside cynresuu I 16. 1); geblewun 7. 25; gebleuun 7. 27; treuna 3. 10; trewna I 17. 6; trewum (§ 29, II) I 6. 3; speua 27. 24; iwer 26. 21; iuer 23. 11; iurre 6. 27; iwh 26. 21; iuh 11. 9 (beside iowih 26. 32); iweres 10. 30; iure 18. 14; niua 26. 28; edniwung 19. 28; nivęas I 3. 13; niw(e)cumenum 10. 14 mg.; hives I 4. 3; hiwe I 4. 2; ofhiudum 23. 27; ðiua 26. 69; ðeua 8. 9 (beside ðæwum 10. 8 mg.; v. § 29, II; cf. B. § 114, anm. 2); and the loanword: diwle 25. 41; diul 9. 33, &c. (beside diowl, dioble, &c.; v. § 22).

For the *ew*, *eaw* in cewlas 16. 9; ceulas 15. 37; ceawlas 14. 20 v. Lind.² § 32, anm. 2; Lea § 40; cf. B. § 258.

ēw for ēaw occurs in inscewungum I 4. 9; ungleu 15. 4.

For the ē in edes 26. 3 v. B. § 217.

§ 21. Influence of Preceding Palatals.

The initial palatal half-vowel *j* (always written *g* initially, except in proper names) does not in general cause diphthongization (S. § 137). It does unite with *o* to form *eo* in *geoc* 1. 20, &c. 3).

I. For WS. *gē* (*ihr*) appear: *gie* I 17. 6; *ge* 8. 9; *gē* 10. 28; *gee* 7. 12; *geē* 5. 13; for WS. *giēt*: *get* 15. 16; *gett* 17. 5; for WS. *giu*, *geo*: *gee* I 18. 18; *gēe* I 10. 2; *geē* 12. 8; *ge* I 6. 15; *gē* 11. 9; for WS. *gēar*: *ger* 9. 20.

II. After *g'*, *c'* æ (= WGmc. *a*) sometimes becomes *ea* (*eæ*, *eae*). The examples are: *geat* 7. 13; *geatt* 16. 18; *f'geaf* 18. 32 (2); *ongeæn* (?) 21. 1 (v. §§ 1, 17); *ageætt* 26. 7 (v. B. § 296); *ædgeadre* 13. 29; *ceafertum* 26. 58.

In the verb *geadriga*, Bülbring maintains that u-umlaut has taken place; v. Angl. Beib. IX, 76 ff.; EB. § 251; cf. S. § 160, anm. 1; F. § 21, II. The following forms occur: *geadriás* 13. 29, &c. (6); *gegeadrade* 19. 6, &c. (4); *geadrung* I 8. 17.

The forms with æ (e) are: *ongæt*, *be-*, 13. 19 (3); 12. 43; *togægnes* 28. 9, &c. (2) (beside *togeegnas* 27. 32); *gæt* 7. 13; *gaet* 7. 14; *ædgædre* 9. 17; *ædgaedre* 14. 9; *cæfertun* 26. 69; *cefertun* 26. 3; v. §§ 1, 17.

Loanword: *ceastra* 5. 14, &c. (17); *cæsctra* 21. 2; *cest'* 9. 25 (B. § 91, anm. 4).

III. After *sc'* the following vowel frequently becomes a diphthong. æ becomes ea in *sceal* 1. 23 (2) (beside *sceal* 10. 8 mg.); *morseaðe* 26. 53; *sceafta* I 14. 9; *sceaccas* 10. 14 (beside *sceæcende* 11. 7; v. B. § 296).

WS. *scierpan* appears as *gescirped*, *un-*, 11. 18; 22. 11 (cf. B. § 508).

WGmc. a (= o before nasals) becomes eo: *sceomæs* I 3. 12; *ofsceomage* 11. 20; *sceonca* I 7. 17.

e becomes i in *gescildon* I 5. 9; and y in *gyld* I 20. 10.

u becomes iu after scr in: *gescriungon* 13. 6; *f'scriuncen* 12. 10 (B. § 302; Lind. § 61).

44 VOWELS OF THE STEM SYLLABLES

ā (= WGmc. ai) becomes ēa in scean, eftge-, I 2. 13; 17. 2; sceadanne 10. 35; gesceaden I 4. 6, &c. (2); gescead I 3. 5 (2); bischead I 9. 13; hornsceaðe 4. 5.

ō becomes ēo in gsceoe 8. 11.

Pal. influence may be at work in: scyldrum 23. 4; shya I 16. 6; scuia 4. 16; ofscyade 17. 5; v. S., Decanatsp. p. 27, note 3; Lind.³ § 61.

ē (= Gmc. ē) appears as ēa in sceacaras I 5. 13; as ī in: scip I 20. 11, &c.; scīpo 25. 32, &c. (S. § 157, 2; B. § 154).

The diphthong eo appears regularly in geonga: geongeð 13. 24, &c.; ofergeong I 14. 6.

Unexplained: beienda 9. 20; v. § 30.

§ 22. Hiatus and Contraction.

I. Original ah + vowel becomes ēa, ā (aa, ðð); v. S. §§ 111, 2; 116, 1. Examples are: gefea 15. 36; ofslaa 1. 6 mg.; slæ, ge-, 24. 49; 16. 21; ea 7. 25; ofslah 5. 21; ðuah 6. 17 (S. § 162, anm. 3); ðwas 15. 2; geðreate 17. 18.

a + w appears as ē in: strē 7. 3; stre 7. 14; strees I 17. 11.

II. Original eh + vowel appears as ēa, ē. Examples are: gefeað 18. 13; gefeago 16. 26; geseað 9. 30; gesea (10); geseas 13. 14; eftatea I 1. 6; fleas 23. 33; geflea 3. 7; fleam (?) 24. 20 (v. Cos.¹ § 59, 7); swear I 18. 2; swer 10. 35, &c. (2); hwel I 7. 18, &c. (2); ece 18. 9; ēcce 25. 41; hunteantigiða I 20. 17; tenu I 1. 1; tea 18. 24; teum I 9. 14 (beside tewum 25. 1); (v. F. § 22, II; Cos.¹ § 59, 4; B. § 557); hera I 6. 12; heest 20. 26; nesta 5. 43; neesto 19. 19 (S. § 166, 3, anm. 3; B. § 215).

Without contraction is ehera I 18. 20.

e + w appears as ēo, ēa, ē, and ēu (B. § 119): treo 12. 33; tre 7. 8; treu 3. 10; trēu I 19. 4; treum 21. 8; cneum 17. 4; ðea, efne-, I 21. 1; I 20. 14; ðeas I 20. 13; ðeadomes I 5. 15.

For the ea in leas 8. 4 (3) v. B. § 112.

III. īh + original i appears as ī in: gesiistu 7. 3 (2);

INFLUENCE OF NEIGHBORING SOUNDS 45

gesiist 7. 5; gsiist 27. 4; gesist I 10. 3; gesiisð 6. 4; gesis 5. 28; flias 24. 16 (S. §§ 110, anm. 1; 162, 2, anm. 5).

i + gut. vowel appears as ie, ia in: getwiedon 28. 17; tuia 14. 10 (beside ahbutean I 18. 17; buta tua 3. 5 (4)); v. § 20; S. §§ 414, anm. 5; 114, 3; 166, anm. 4; cf. B. §§ 219, 223.

i + u appears as iu, io, ia, ea, eo in: hiu 9. 18; hio 9. 21; hia (15); ðiu (23) (beside ðyu 4. 13 mg. (2)); ðrea I 3. 14; ðreo 18. 20; ðriodogor 15. 32; hea 1. 25.

i + e appears as ie, e (ee) in: hie I 15. 2; hię 18. 19; sie I 1. 9; se 6. 18; sē 27. 23; się I 14. 7; see I 1. 11.

ī + gut. vowel appears as iu, eo, io, ea in: fiunge 10. 22; freo 17. 26; freodomēs 5. 31; freond 11. 19; fiond 5. 25; fiend (as.) 5. 43; fiondgeldum 4. 24; teancuedendum (?) 5. 44 (v. Brown § 29, a); biom (3); beom (3); v. B. § 118 and anm.

There is interchange of ie, io, iu, ia in: gefriega 27. 49; and the loanword: diobul 4. 5; diuble I 18. 11; diable 4. 1.

For the ī in suire 18. 6 v. S. § 218; B. §§ 262, anm.; 529; cf. Lea § 52, 2; in diendra 21. 16 v. S. § 408, anm. 16. For a suggestion as to the origin of beafton 11. 17 v. Lind.² § 99, anm.

*ijō+da = eade 25. 25; geeode 9. 27; v. B. § 118; Kal. § 65 k; cf. S. § 114, anm. 1.

IV. The diphthongs in the following are the results of reduplication: feoll 18. 29; gefeallon 2. 11; geheald 19. 20; heoldon 27. 36; oncneawu 7. 23; oncneawn 14. 35; forleort 4. 13; forleorton 19. 27; ondreard 2. 22; ondrear-don 9. 8.

V. ō + vowel appears as ō: foanne 26. 55; eftondfoende I 18. 15; onfoas 7. 8; onfoe 11. 14; hoanne 20. 19; ahoas 23. 34; ahoa 15. 20; doa 21. 24; dōm 20. 13; doað 23. 5; doenne I 21. 15 (S. § 110, anm. 1); woes 22. 18; gsceoe (§ 21, III) 3. 11; scoea (§ 17, IV) 10. 10. For holas 8. 20 v. § 4.

46 VOWELS OF THE STEM SYLLABLES

For the *æ* in *fæs* 5. 18; *gæð* 5. 30 v. B. § 215.

VI. *u*+vowel remains unchanged in: *shya* I 6. 6 (with i-umlaut); *ofscyade* 17. 5; *scuia* 4. 16; *landbuendo* 21. 38.

VII. *y+i,e* appears as *y* in: *geðryde* I 3. 7; *geðryhton* I 8. 4.

VIII. Original *ai* (= OE. *ā*) + *u* (*w*) appears as *ā* (*aa*) in: *sna* 17. 2; *aa* 26. 11 (S. § 118).

IX. By the loss of *h*, *ý* appears in *ðyril* I 6. 1 (S. § 218, 1; B. § 529).

X. The coming together of unstressed and stressed vowels results in the elision of the former (S. § 110, anm. 4), as in: *binna* 28. 25, 26; *buta* 5. 20; I 8. 17; *nam* 3. 11; *nis* 12. 7; *næfre* 9. 33; *nec* (Lat.?) 10. 24; after the loss of initial and medial consonants in: *nat* 24. 50; *nutu* 21. 27; *neuton* 21. 20; *nyston* I 21. 20; *nyta* 6. 3; *nyte* 9. 30; *neron* 12. 4; *nere* 1. 6 mg.; *nère* 24. 22; *noht* 23. 16; *næniht* 17. 20; *nabbas* 6. 1; *næfde* 22. 25 (§ 23); *næbbend* 18. 5; *nalles* 7. 29, &c.; *naldes* 28. 37; *nellas* 7. 6 (beside *nwill* 15. 32; *nuillic* 21. 29); *ahbutean* I 8. 17; *booflic* I 5. 8 (B. § 455).

§ 23. Shifting of Quantity.

I. Final vowels in stressed, one-syllable words appear long in: *nū* 5. 5 (4); *gē* I 10. 2 (4); *gē* 11. 9; *gē* 12. 8; *nō* 22. 17; *ðū* 27. 13.

II. Lengthening of one-syllable words ending in single consonant appears in: *hīs* 22. 5; *gerēc* 27. 24; and in the proclitic particles: *ōngelic* 13. 44; *geōnduorde* 12. 48; *ūnbyed* 14. 13; *ūnhælo* 9. 35; *ūnhale* 14. 14; *ūnrōt* 19. 22; *ūnspoedge*, *ūnsynnige* 5. 3 mg.; *ūntry'mig* 9. 35; *ūntynde* 9. 30; *ūnðær* 2. 6; *ūnwrigen* 10. 26.

III. Lengthening occurs before nasal + cons. in: *ēnde* 13. 40; *hōnd* 14. 31 (4); *hünduelle* 13. 8; *lōnd* 3. 5 (8); *sprānc* 9. 26 mg.; *infānd* 12. 44; *gebīnde* 12. 29; *wīnd* 14. 30; *uīnde* 11. 7; *sōnd* I 17. 19; *strōng* 14. 30.

IV. Lengthening before *r*+cons. appears in: *wōrd* 26.

INFLUENCE OF NEIGHBORING SOUNDS 47

75(3); brörd 13. 26; gērd 11. 7; cōrn 13. 31; berērn 3. 12 (2); carcērn 14. 10.

V. Lengthening before 1+cons. appears in: gesāld, a-, 4. 12 (7); 28. 18; göld 23. 17; ālde I 1. 2; āldum I 1. 9; āldo 16. 1; (h)aaldum 5. 21; ālle 24. 39 (S. § 124, anm. 2); āldrum 10. 21; mīldo 10. 16; gehāld 27. 65.

VI. Short vowels before single consonants in words of two or more syllables are seldom lengthened. The examples are: (arīs)ās 11. 15; lōsað, gelōsas, gelōsiga 16. 25; gēfil 17. 25; grāefe 21. 13 (§ 1).

VII. The other examples of lengthening are: nāfde I 19. 14; gēade 13. 25; gēleafful 24. 45, probably scribal errors.

VIII. As examples of the shortening of long vowels and diphthongs, the following must be noted (v. B. §§ 337-49): ā in: enne 5. 18; leasse I. 8. 7; ē in: sella 12. 12; sellra 10. 31; gemitte 18. 28; ōe in: soeccenna I 1. 13; gebled-sade 14. 19; gebledsad 23. 39 (F. § 23, VIII); ī in: ðrittig 13. 8; awritte (inf.) I 9. 12; gebrucca (?) 6. 25 (F. § 23, VIII); the a in: latua 2. 6; v. § 45 for other possible examples.

B. THE VOWELS OF MEDIAL AND FINAL SYLLABLES

CHAPTER V. SUFFIXES, PREFIXES, COMPOUND WORDS, MEDIAL VOWELS.

§ 24. *Suffixal Ablaut.*

I. The neuter suffix -os, -es = OE. *r* (S. § 128, 1). The examples are: *dgor* 15. 32 (beside *doeg* 28. 1 &c.; v. S. §§ 288, anm. 1; 289, anm. 2); *ehera* I 18. 20; *sige* 12. 20; *puulspær* 11. 7; *cælfes* I 7. 9; *celfes* I 8. 5 (S. § 290, anm.); *beretun* 3. 12.

Later variations are *wuldor* 16. 27; *wuldur* 4. 8 (Kl., NStB. §§ 133, 141).

For the -er in *stæner* 13. 5 v. S. § 290, anm. 3; for -as in *acas* 3. 10 v. S. § 50, anm. 2; Decanatsp. p. 30.

II. Before n in the suffix -ono-, -eno- (past part. of st. vbs.). Traces of this e- grade are seen in: *unðuenum* 15. 20; *gescyfen* I 8. 11; *gecnoeden* 13. 33; *gewoerden* 11. 21. For *ahæfen* 23. 12; *geslaegen* I 19. 4 v. § 17; also S., Decanatsp. p. 23 ff. For such forms as *ahoen*, *ge-*, 27. 22, 23; 26. 2; *gefœn*, *on-*, 21. 39; 24. 40 v. S. §§ 378, anm. 2; 429, anm. 2.

Other variations are: *recune* 21. 19; *recone* 21. 2; *seofona* 15. 34; *hundseofuntig* I 20. 13; *seofunda* 22. 26; *seofonda* I 9. 5; *firinade* 15. 34; *agenlic* 25. 15; *aganlico* I 17. 12; *nigona* 18. 12; *becon* (§ 27) 16. 1; *becen* 24. 30; *tacon* (§ 27) 26. 48; *f'etaceno* 24. 24; *wolcen* 17. 5; *ciccenø* 23. 37; *ticcenø* I 23. 3; *bisen* 13. 31; *bisin* I 19. 1 (B: § 362); *drihten* 8. 21 (beside *drihter* 8. 8).

SUFFIXES, PREFIXES, COMPOUND WORDS, ETC. 49

Beside *fæsten* I 7. 3 occurs *fæst'rn* I 16. 8; also always with *r*, *efern* 14. 15; *woestern* 4. 1 (v. F. p. 85).

-in occurs in the loanword *latinum* I 1. 12.

III. Before *l* in the suffix -olo-, -elo-. The examples are: *micel* 7. 27; *micil* 5. 19; *ðyriil* I 6. 1; *ïdil* 12. 36 (B. § 362); *lytel* 5. 19; *œðel* 3. 5; *gæfel* I 21. 10; *gæfil* 17. 25; *symbel* 6. 5; *degelnisse* 6. 6; *degolnise* 6. 18; *cyrtel* 5. 40; *hrifol* 8. 3; *sauel* 6. 25; *seðel* 19. 28; *seatul* 23. 2; *hehseðil* 5. 34; *of'geotole* 16. 5; *tungul* 2. 2; *ongul* 17. 27; *staðolfæst* 16. 18; *hiouf* I 7. 9; *ebalsung* I 19. 4 (v. Mém. de la Soc. Néophil. p. 264); *ebolsung* 12. 31; *yfel* 12. 35; *waghrahel* (§ 27) 27. 51.

-els, -ils occur in: *gyrdilsum* 10. 9; *gyrdils* 3. 4; *recels* 2. 11 (Kl., NStB. § 98).

Loanwords: *regula* I 3. 14; *regele* I 3. 15; *regolra* I 1. 1; *asal* 21. 2; *diobul* 4. 5; *diubol* I 18. 11; *ðæcille* 5. 15; *discipul* 27. 57; *apostol* I 6. 17; *scemel*, *fotsconol* 22. 44; *camele* I 21. 16.

IV. Before *r* in the suffix -oro-, -ero-. Examples are: *sundurlice* I 9. 9; *suindir* I 3. 7; *sundor* I 19. 9; *aldor* 26. 62; *aldur* I 19. 3; *huider* 8. 19; *hwidir* I 7. 17 (B. § 362); *ðider* 2. 22; *fadores* 6. 13; *faderes* 7. 21; *fador* 20. 1; *fader* 4. 21; *ðunera* I 8. 3; *suner* (grex) 8. 30; *sumer* 24. 32; *sulfer* 10. 9; *feuor* I 19. 19; *fewer* I 2. 14; *foter* 18. 27; *wiðerweard* 14. 24; *wiðirworda* I 2. 12; *niðer* 2. 11; *wunder* I 15. 1; *wundara* I 6. 9; *mordur* 19. 18; *mordor* 22. 7; *wæter* 14. 29 (S. § 243; Kl., NStB. § 92); *niðer* 2. 11; *cæfertun* 26. 69; *unfegernis* (§ 27) 24. 15 mg.; *bitterlice* (§ 27) 26. 75; *lutorlice* (§ 27) I 8. 8.

The Idg. suffix -tro occurs in *foðer* 14. 20 (Kl., NStB. § 93). To WS. *ceaster* corresponds *ceastra* 5. 14.

V. In the suffix -ig (-ig), -ag. These suffixes appear in Mt. as -ig, with one exception, *hefäge* 11. 28, and this may be regarded, perhaps, as a scribal variation in view of the preceding and following e. There are traces of stem ablaut in forms like *monigo* 9. 37; *menigo* 9. 36. Other umlauted

50 VOWELS OF MEDIAL AND FINAL SYLLABLES

forms are: woerig I 4. 6; hincgrig 25. 35 (B. § 307); untrymmig 25. 36, &c.; syndrig 14. 13; woestig I 19. 19. In eftgemyndig 26. 75; scyldig 26. 26; efenmeti(g) 26. 26 (§ 42); synnig 19. 9, which are derived from umlauted substantives, it is not possible to conclude with regard to the character of the original suffix.

-ig->-ing occurs in cynig 2. 2; hunig 3. 4; v. B. § 561.

VI. In the suffix -od, -ed. The examples are: heafod I 19. 14; heafud 14. 11; heafut 21. 42; uutedlice 15. 20; uutodlice 1. 18 mg.; wutetlic I 6. 8; wuototlice 3. 1; hiorodes 20. 1; hiorades 10. 25; nacod 25. 36.

-að occurs in innað 12. 40; fostrað 3. 4; -ut in eofut 18. 25; -eð in: fræceðo 22. 6; erfeðo 26. 10; leigeðslahtas (WS. -et) I 8. 3.

-it, -ed, -et occur in the loanwords: mynittre 22. 19; mynetra 21. 12; tramitum I 4. 9; trametas I 2. 10; æcced 27. 48.

VII. Nouns in -nis, -nes. The normal form is -nis(s), -nis(s)e (§ 45). The forms with -nessa, -nesse, -nes(s) are: cyðness I 14. 9; cyðnessa 27. 13; gelicnesa 22. 20; geliornessa 2. 22; geliornessa 21. 11; gesetnesa I 9. 2; gesetnessa I 14. 9; gewitnessæ 26. 28; gewitneso 26. 60; licesse 6. 27; licnessa I 21. 10; ongelicenes I 17. 7; setnes I 13. 9, &c. (7); slitnese 24. 15; witnesa 8. 4, &c. (9).

VIII. The suffix -ung occurs more frequently than -ing (for the spelling v. § 43; also Kl., NStB. § 159). Examples of the latter are: cäsering 17. 24; cepinc 22. 5; eftlesing 20. 28; ernineg I 14. 7, &c. (2); flouing 9. 20; bæcgling I 3. 10; inwritting I 4. 8; iorning 9. 20; losing 7. 13; f'emerinc (§ 43) I 9. 19.

-ling occurs in: derling 12. 18; bæcgling I 3. 10; heafod-linges 11. 16; -eng occurs in lydeng 25. 6; -ong in inwoen-onga 13. 29. For -ong in efalsongas 12. 31 v. Mém. de la Soc. Neophil. p. 246.

IX. -end occurs in ðusend I 19. 15; erendraca I 18. 17.

-unt, -ont occur in ðiofunta 15. 19; ðiofonto 19. 18.

SUFFIXES, PREFIXES, COMPOUND WORDS, ETC. 51.

X. Beside the variations classified above occur the following: ærist 10. 2 : ærest I 4. 3; æfist 27. 18 (B. § 361); œfestlice 8. 31; atih 18. 27; ata 18. 38 (cf. B. § 362); casseres 17. 24; casari 22. 21; monigfallocru (comp.) 5. 37; monigfulsumnise 25. 19; bogehte 7. 14; feðrihte I 7. 17 (Kl., NStB. § 218); middangeard 13. 38; middengeardes I 16. 13; suiðor 5. 20 (suiður J. 21. 15); eaður 9. 5; eoðor 10. 15; ælmesa 6. 2; allmissa I 7. 6 (B. § 516); medmaaste 23. 45 (S. § 312, anm. 1); f'mest 21. 28; clænust I 6. 14; tunuc 27. 28; cilic 11. 21; cursumbor I 2. 11; afulic I 2. 11; dearflicum I 2. 2.

§ 25. Prefixes.

I. ge-, gi-. The normal form is ge-. In the following words gi- occurs: gibohta 27. 9; gidyrstig 22. 46; gihata 5. 33; gihwerfde I 2. 2, 3; gimencged I 3. 9; gimoeton I 4. 7; gimoetid I 3. 9; girihte I 2. 13; girihtad I 2. 17; girihtæ I 2. 2; giroefæ 20. 8; gisomnung I 4. 6; gilic I 8. 12; giboeta I 2. 14. For himong I 18. 13 v. § 3.

gæ- occurs in gæliornise 28. 10; gie- in gieeadon 22. 5.

There is loss of the e in: gbidd 6. 6; gleaf 9. 22; gsceoe 3. 11; gsiist 27. 4; gsealla I 20. 9; gcueada 7. 22; gdeglice 6. 1; gfulwas 3. 11; gfylnise I 16. 14; gybes 5. 4 mg.; gcumæ 14. 28; gðence 18. 12; gbær I 6. 14; gbedes I 17. 7; gfreten 6. 19; groefa 22. 19 (2); gsende 25. 27; gwēdon 27. 28; eftguuta I 9. 17; and before a following vowel in: geadon 12. 14.

II. be-, bi-. The normal form is be-. bi- occurs with two verbs of motion, from which it is separated by a hyphen, thus preserving its adverbial character. These verbs are inn-bigeates I 9. 13; bi-eode 20. 30. The other instances in which bi- occurs are as follows: bibeod 26. 19; bibycendu 25. 9, &c. (2); biboht I 22. 5; bife 27. 29 (2); bibyrgenne 26. 12; bibyrignisa 27. 7; bicymo I 7. 2; bilyrtet 2. 16; bihionda 4. 25; bigetna I 19. 12, &c. (3);

52 VOWELS OF MEDIAL AND FINAL SYLLABLES

bihealdon I 6. 7, &c. (3); bischead I 9. 13; bihoflic I 14. 15.

bie- occurs in biegeten I 4. 7 (thus glossed by Cook, but not so printed in Skeat). bi- occurs in bitwih I 1. 2, &c. (13) beside betuih 11. 11, &c. (8); v. B. § 454. bo- occurs in bobode I 21. 12; bobodum 5. 19; booflic I 5. 8.

e has disappeared before an initial vowel in buta 5. 13, &c.; binna 23. 25.

The lengthened form bi- occurs in bispell 21. 45, &c.

Murray, NED., regards blinna as a syncopated form of bi- and C. T. **linnan*; Kl., PG. p. 390 gives Gmc. **að-linnan*; cf. Lind. § 114. Examples are: blinnes 24. 12; geblann 14. 32.

III. for- and fore- are not as a rule interchanged, though there are a few instances where this occurs, as in: f'guulde 18. 25; f'egulde I 20. 15; f'beada 19. 14; forebeadas I 17. 3; foressætte 13. 31; f'sætt 13. 24; f'lboro 26. 32; f'eliorað 28. 7; foreeade 14. 15; foreade 5. 18. Generally these words are not written out as in: foregeeade 2. 2; forecwide 4. 5, &c. (30); v. Lind. § 26, 1; Lea § 73, 3.

IV. æf-, of-. æf occurs in æfist 27. 18 (2), otherwise of always occurs (B. § 454).

V. æt-, ot-. Only æt- (æd-) occurs (§ 38). ed- occurs in eftedwidon 21. 42.

VI. ē (WS. æ) occurs in: erist 22. 28; espryngc I 2. 11; esuica 7. 5, &c.

VII. ond-, on-, un-. Examples are: (a) ondwlita I 7. 10; ondspurnas 5. 30; ondget 15. 16; ondsuere 2. 12; onduord' 27. 8. on- stands for ond- in onfenge I 9. 2; foreonfong I 1. 4; onfoed, &c., beside ondfoe I 18. 16; ondfa I 21. 5; ondfende 24. 40. (b) on-: ongeredon 27. 31; ongettes 16. 33; ongelic 13. 47; onsoc 26. 70; ondréda 28. 10.

a- occurs in aworden 28. 4; aworpen 14. 24, perhaps a weakened form of on-; o- in ofenge 17. 24; v. F. § 27, VII.

(c) un-: unbindes 16. 19; unbliðe 6. 23; unceaped 10. 8.

VIII. For tō occurs tom I 18. 19 (§ 33).

SUFFIXES, PREFIXES, COMPOUND WORDS, ETC. 53

IX. Beside *ðerh*, the usual form of the word, occurs *ðorh* 26. 24 (cf. B. § 454).

X. in- and inn- occur as in : *infindes* 7. 8; *innfoerde* 8. 5 (§ 45).

For (h)*ræfneð* 6. 24 v. PG. p. 426, § 156.

§ 26. Second Members of Compounds.

The root vowels of second members of compounds undergo modifications and changes as the result of slightness or lack of stress (S. § 43). Examples are:

ea-o: *ondward* I 5. 4; *geonduorde* 12. 48; *toward* 3. 11; *ūtaword* 23. 25; *wiðerworde* 4. 10 (beside *onduarde* 12. 39); *ondweard* I 2. 15; *geondweardeð* 25. 40; *toueard* 11. 14; *towærð* 12. 32; *foruuard* I 10. 1).

æ-e: *berērn* 8. 12; *berern* 6. 26; *carcērn* 14. 10; *carcern* 25. 39; *gemotern* 27. 27.

i is weakened to e in : *afterest* 22. 23; otherwise always erist. y is weakened to i in *æfist* 27. 18 (B. § 376).

a and o appear in : *geneolacede*, *toge-*, 4. 3, 17; *to-geneolocedon* 4. 11; otherwise always e (cf. B. § 427).

Further changes have taken place in : *hlafard* (**hlaf-weard*) I 17. 20; *hlaferdes* 25. 18 (B. § 411); *eofut* (**ef-hat*) 18. 25; *ebalsas* (**ef-halsian*) 9. 3; *efolsade* 26. 65; *ebolsung*, *efalsongas* 12. 31; *ondeto* (**onhatjan*) 7. 23; *hiorodes* (**hiw-rād*) 20. 1; *hiorades* 10. 25; *fræceðo* (**fra-cund*) 22. 6; *larwu* (**lär-jeow*) 12. 38; *latua* (**lād-jeow*) 2. 6; *wigbed* (**wih-beod*) 5. 23; *woruldes* (**wer-ald*); *worold* 18. 32; *æfist* (cf. S. § 43, anm. 4; B. § 101, anm. 3).

Original i has disappeared in : *ilca* 2. 8; *huelc* 18. 1; *huælc* 6. 27; *eghwelc* 3. 10; *eghulc* 12. 31; *swele* I 3. 3; *swælce* I 7. 8 (beside *swilce* I 18. 13).

i has disappeared in : *noht* 23. 16 (beside *nowiht* 10. 26, &c.); *tuelf* 10. 1; *twoelf* 19. 28, &c.

54 VOWELS OF MEDIAL AND FINAL SYLLABLES

§ 27. Changes of Final Sounds as Result of Apocope.

When a mute followed by a liquid or nasal becomes final, the liquid or nasal develops before itself a vowel (S. 138). Such an auxiliary vowel appears:

1. Before r in finger 23. 4; wundor I 15. 4; wunder I 15. 1; wundara I 6. 9; aldor 26. 62; aldur I 19. 3 (Kl., NStB. § 30); bitterlice 26. 75; unfegernis 24. 15 mg.; hlutorlice I. 8. 8.

2. Before l in: husul 12. 7; tempel 23. 17; tempul I 21. 3; tungul 2. 2; seðel 19. 28; seatul 23. 2; hehseðil 5. 34; waghrachel 27. 51.

3. Syllabic n remains usually unchanged after a short syllable, as in: stefn I 16. 7; regn 7. 25; ðegn 25. 30; ðeignas 8. 9. e occurs in mægen 11. 12 (v. Kal. § 73, anm. 3).

After a long syllable, an auxiliary vowel is generated before n, as in: tacon I 4. 7; f'etaceno 24. 24 (S. § 129); woepenmonn 19. 4; becon 24. 3 (10); becen, &c. (4); becen 24. 24 (S. § 129).

4. Syllabic m remains usually unchanged, as in wæstm 21. 19, &c., beside wæstim I 19. 4.

For vowel development between lg, rg, rh v. § 48.

§ 28. Syncope of Middle Vowels.

I. 'Every middle vowel of a trisyllabic word, when originally short, and not rendered long by position, is syncopated after a long radical syllable.' Examples are:

1. Before l: cyrtlas 10. 10; lytles 6. 30; lytlum 5. 19; englas 4. 11; deiglo 13. 35; gedegled I 7. 8, &c. (4); saules 6. 25; sawle 12. 8; midla I 14. 15 (with syncope of d) idlum I 3. 4; diowbla, diowlas 9. 34, &c.

Exceptions are: degelde 13. 33; gedeigeldes 11. 25; sauele 22. 37; lyttelra I. 1. 6.

2. Before r: oðres 5. 27, &c.; sestre 5. 15; modres 19. 12; alra I 6. 4; dogrum 26. 2; aldre 21. 19; iurres 6. 25; iurrne

SUFFIXES, PREFIXES, COMPOUND WORDS, ETC. 55

5. 16; iure 18. 14, &c.; wuldre 6. 29; usra 20. 33; hungro 24. 7; broðres 7. 3; getimbro 16. 18.

Exceptions are: usera 23. 30; oðero 27. 61, &c.; oðera 5. 39 (8); oðerra I 8. 17; broðeres 18. 15; broðero 12. 46 (2); broðera 4. 18; iueres 10. 20; iuerræ 10. 29, &c.; fewer(o) I 8. 14; hyngegerende 25. 44; getimberde 7. 26 (2); v. B. §§ 436, 437.

3. Before n: facne 5. 8 mg.; drihtnes 3. 3; drihtne 11. 3; hædno 6. 32; hædnum 10. 18; wolcnum 24. 30; mædne 14. 11; netna I 7. 8; merne 6. 34; inflected participles in -en: gebundna 18. 18; forletne 16. 4; fletnum 13. 36; ðruncnum 24. 49; gewordne 11. 23; wordnum I 18. 18; geðreatne 20. 31; ablonegne 26. 8; ahongne 27. 44.

Exceptions are: gewordeno 4. 3; ciceno 23. 37 (B. § 434); fleteno 5. 32; gebundene 27. 2 (S. § 296, anm. 2).

4. Before d and ð: heafdes 10. 30; heafda 27. 39; wuraðo 3. 7; læððo 6. 24; gedælde, ðerhge-, 15. 35; I 22. 5; seyldrum 23. 4; frymðo 25. 34.

Exceptions are: genemnedo I 2. 12; efnegeceigede 15. 32.

5. Before g: witge 18. 57; gewitgedon 7. 22; halges 28. 19; eadge 5. 3; ængum 18. 12 (3); scyldgum 6. 12; ñinspoedge 5. 3 mg.; æcræftgum 12. 38; monigfaldge 5. 20.

Exceptions are: æcræftigo 12. 24; tunguleræftiga I 16. 3.

-ig has disappeared in bærsynnum I 14. 2.

II. 'A vowel long by position is usually protected against the operation of syncope.' Examples are:

Adjs. in -isc as mennisces I 17. 7.

Subs. in -en, -enne: byrgennes 27. 64; byrðenno 18. 30.

Subs. in -ere, -are: godspellere I 3. 6; recceras I 2. 11; lēaseras I 17. 15; legere 15. 7; fisceras 4. 18; boccer' I 2. 3; sedere 13. 18; fulluihtere 11. 11; bæstere 3. 1; beameres 9. 23; costere, cunnere 4. 3; doemeras 12. 27; drincere, ētere 11. 19; pinerum 18. 34; sceacaras I 5. 13; winbegera 21. 32 mg.; trahtere I 6. 7; furthermore, aefterra I 6. 7; gyrdilsum 10. 9; perhaps loccete 13. 35 (v. § 4).

56 VOWELS OF MEDIAL AND FINAL SYLLABLES

Superlative forms: *wyrresto* 12. 45; *leasestum* 5. 19.

Syncopated forms are: *mynittrum* 22. 19; *mynetrum* 25. 27; *licðrouras* 11. 5; *licðroures* 10. 8 (beside *licðrouer* (ns.) 8. 2; *licðrower* (as.) I 17. 19); *heistum* I 7. 15; *heist* 23. 11; *neista* I 21. 13; *nesta* 5. 43 (S. § 145); *stænna* 26. 7 (v. *Lea* § 79; *Lind*.² § 115, anm. 1).

III. After a short radical syllable, the middle vowel remains; however, there are some exceptions to this rule (S. § 144, a).

1. Before l syncope appears frequently (Kal. § 72, d): *miclo* 2. 10; *micles* 5. 35; *micle* 28. 8, &c.; *yfle* 7. 17; *yflo* 13. 48, &c.; *cuouple* 8. 23; *eorðeryplas* 4. 24; *eorðcrypple* 9. 29; *staplas* 21. 12; *disciplum* 26. 40.

2. Before r syncope occurs in: *snotrum* 25. 8; *snotre* 7. 24; *wætrum* 8. 32; *waatra* 14. 28; *fadres* 5. 40 (6); *fadrum* I 14. 13.

3. Before n there is occasional syncope in the past participles of st. verbs: *acwoedni* 26. 30; *wiðercwedna* I 20. 4; *unðuenum* 15. 20; *unðweanum* I 19. 17; *begetna* 13. 46; *bigetna* I 19. 12 (2); *bigetne* I 3. 11; furthermore, *heofnas* 3. 16; *heofnum* 3. 17; *heafna* 5. 20, &c.; *styrnise* 8. 24.

4. Before m syncope occurs in *lætmeste* 5. 26.

5. Before ð syncope occurs in *gesihða* 17. 9.

6. a has disappeared in: *hogfæstum*, *hogfullum* 11. 25.

7. In this connexion the treatment of words which have developed auxiliary vowels must be considered (S. § 148). If the radical syllable is long, the auxiliary vowel is lost when an inflexional ending is added, as in: *adla* 24. 8; *tacnas* I 9. 3; *maðmas* 12. 29; *nedles* 19. 24; *gebeenades* I 4. 10; *tungcla* 16. 3; *sedlum* I 20. 20; *seatlas* 23. 6; *temple* 21. 12; *wæstmas* 7. 17.

Exceptions to this rule are: *becena* 16. 3; *beceno, f'etaceno* 24. 24; *wundara* I 6. 9; *tempele* 24. 1.

C. THE CONSONANTS

CHAPTER VI. THE SEMI-VOWELS

§ 29. w.

THE semi-vowel w is for the most part written w, though u is common, and instances of wu, uu, wo, uo, o, uw occur (v. § 20; B. § 463). For the runic letter, w is given in the text.

Examples of wu = w are: forwuard I 14. 5; wuriotto 26. 54; wurað 22. 7; fulwuande 28. 19; wuorðig 15. 4; giwude 20. 20; cynreswu I 14. 3: of uu: þuuencgu 28. 5; laruuua 17. 24; sauues 6. 26; of wo, uo, o: woep 2. 8; ueog 5. 25; suoefnum 1. 20; coernæ 24. 41; coeð 8. 9; soestra 19. 29; v. § 20; Bülbring, Angl. Beib. X, 368; EB. § 463; cf. S. § 172; anm.; of uw: laruwa 26. 49.

wu = ū according to Lea § 80; F. § 29; wuðuto 23. 1 (9). May this not be scribal anticipation of w in the following syllable?

Initial w before u is sometimes omitted, as in: udu 3. 4; utuetlice I 8. 16; geundradon 15. 31.

v = w occurs in: avrat I 3. 7; vritt I 2. 15; avritti I 3. 4; niveas I 3. 13; givixla I 3. 1; vrittsæx I 2. 18; hives I 4. 3; ve I 2. 4 (2); unexplained: nœvdę I 4. 3; lvgena I 1. 8.

I. Initial w occurs:

1. Before all vowels: wærco 28. 4; wōp 13. 42; wiht I 8. 4; wer 1. 19; wuldor 16. 27.
2. In the combinations wr, wl: wrigen 6. 31; auritten 11. 10; wlenga 13. 22; wloeh 23. 5.

3. In the combinations cw, hw, dw, tw, ðw, sw: cwoen I 19. 6; cweð 21. 32; hwa 24. 45; huit 5. 36; dwala I 2. 8; geduolade 18. 12; twoelf 19. 28; ðwas 15. 2; sua 6. 30; swicað 24. 11.

The loss of initial w occurs in the negative forms of some verbs, as: nat 24. 50; nyta 6. 3; nis 12. 7; nellas 7. 6 (beside nwill 15. 32; nuilic 21. 29; also in: hlaferde 10. 24; hu 7. 4; noht 23. 16; tun 24. 41 (S. § 172, anm.).

II. Medial w occurs before all vowels, except u and Prim. OE. i, without change: sceawað I 1. 7; sawel 6. 25; oncnawæð I 2. 6; also after consonants: fulwa 3. 11; gearrwas I 17. 13.

Before u and i, w has disappeared, and, as a result, contraction often occurs:

1. Before u: ea 7. 25; oncnawun 14. 35; ðrounges I 22. 6. However, u is sometimes restored after analogy of the other forms, as in: geseawun I 6. 16; ðrowungum 10. 31; geblewun 7. 25; trewum I 6. 3; ðæwum 10. 8 mg.

2. Before i: æ 7. 12; sœ 14. 22; gerelum 11. 18; smirinis 26. 12; eftawælte 28. 2; geperedon, on-, 27. 31.

The w in: genehuas 19. 5; gehnehuade 10. 7 is not clear; v. B. § 465, anm.

III. Originally w did not stand as final.

1. After a short vowel it is vocalized, and contraction then takes place, as in: stre 7. 3; strē 7. 14; tre 7. 18; trea 12. 33; ðea I 21. 1; laruu 12. 38 and latuu I 6. 13 must be included here, if uu = ü; v. F. § 29, III. Such forms as cnew, 27. 29, &c.; treu 3. 10 also occur, after analogy of the inflected forms with medial w. w is also vocalized in hiorodæs 18. 27 (S. § 43, anm. 4).

2. After a consonant it is vocalized to syllabic w, o: georo 26. 41; gearua 24. 44; mealo 13. 33.

3. After long vowels and diphthongs w disappears: aa 26. 11; sna 17. 2; sœdeadon 24. 1; but, after the analogy of the inflected forms, it is restored, especially in the interior of a word when there is syncope of a middle

vowel, as in: sawle 12. 18; ungleu 15. 4; oncenæw 13. 23; oncnæawu 7. 23; seawu 25. 26; hreownise 27. 3.

For ædeaude 17. 3; ædeawde 9. 33, &c. v. F. pp. 46-47, who sums up the difficulties involved in this word without throwing any new light on the matter.

Common Teutonic *ww* (Got. *ggw*) forms with the preceding originally short vowel a diphthong in these words: sheawa 27. 60; aheawun 23. 53; getriowue 9. 2; getreow-fæstnig I 4. 12; v. B. § 457.

Inorganic *w* appears in smeawdon (**smauχōjan*; B. § 458) 16. 7; smeawunga 9. 4, &c. (4) (beside smeunga 15. 19; scearpsmeung I 14. 1). This appearance of *w* is probably due to the analogy of other words, with *w* in the stem, like gearwung, sceawung. From the substantive forms it may easily have made its way to those of the verb.

w has been omitted in: f'hon 16. 11; hona 15. 33; geondearde 16. 16; gecomæ I 6. 17; coðas 17. 20; ymb-hurfon 23. 15; ymbhyrft I 1. 2; eghulc (?) 12. 31; and in hoenne 24. 3, unless it should be classed with the words in § 20.

For tyggum 13. 32 v. § 17, III.

w has disappeared in geðreate 17. 18.

w has been inserted by the scribe in: wyflo 21. 41; freweð I 19. 3; gewohtat 23. 14; gewunna 26. 53; gewond(worde) (scribal anticipation) 22. 1, &c. (2) (v. § 23); wütimestum 25. 30; wytmesto 8. 12; tewum (decem) 25. 1; wunwæstmæ (scribal anticipation); sⁿona (?) 2. 15.

w is retained in: ceawlas 14. 20; cewlas 16. 9 but lost in edes; v. B. § 217; Lind². § 32, anm. 2.

For the groups ēow, īow and the manner of writing them v. § 20. For huæstredon 20. 11 v. § 17, V.

Unexplained: hwastana I 20. 15; gewrynded 7. 25.

§ 30. j.

I. Initial *j* is expressed by *i* only in proper names (S. § 175, 1): ioseph 1. 19; iones 16. 4; iudeas 3. 5; other-

wise it is written *g* as in: *gee* (pron.) 7. 12; *gér* 9. 20; *geoc* 11. 29; *gife* 6. 22.

II. Medial *j* between vowels is preserved in: *cēgum* I 20. 4; *caegas* 16. 19; *gefriged* 27. 43; *boege* 15. 14; *twoege* 26. 60; *gefriega* 27. 49; *ceigeð* I 16. 10, &c. (S. § 176). Usually it disappears as in: *freond* 11. 19; *freo* 17. 26; *eade* 9. 7; *ece* 18. 8, v. B. § 458, a, and anm.

After a short vowel + *r*, *f*, it is represented by *g* in: *hergum* I 6. 19; *hergas* 8. 18; (*h*)*lifgiende* 26. 63.

Medial *j* has disappeared after a long closed syllable. Examples are found in the inflexion of the wk. vbs. Cl. I, and in the *jo/ja*-stems.

III. Final *j* is seldom. The examples are: *gefriig* 6. 13; *heg* 6. 30; *ceig* 20. 8. For -*ig* of wk. vbs. v. S. § 175, anm.

beienda 9. 20 is not clear to me; v. S., Decanatsp. p. 35; *Bübring*, Angl. Beib. IX, 99; EB. § 249.

CHAPTER VII. LIQUIDS AND NASALS

§ 31. r.

I. *r* is frequent in all positions: *lar* 22. 23; *reatf* 22. 12; *worold* 13. 49; *stearm* 16. 3; *bratt* 5. 4; *stre* 7. 14. It is seldom doubled; *cearro* 12. 44; *feorra* 26. 58; *afrres* 7. 23; *starres* 2. 7; *torr* 21. 33; *farras* 22. 4; v. also § 45.

II. Medial *r* undergoes metathesis:

1. Where *r* originally preceded a vowel followed by *nn-* or *s-* combinations (S. § 179): *arn* 28. 9; *iornende* 27. 48; *bernas* 5. 15; *bernenne* 13. 30; *burna* I 2. 10; *byrn* 20. 12; *gers* 6. 30; *daerstum* 16. 6; *gedarsted* 13. 33; *geðurseon* 21. 35; *toborsten* 27. 51; (*berjern* 6. 26; furthermore in *awuridge* 27. 5; *birde* 27. 64; *tinterge* 5. 22).

For *forma* and *frum* v. S. § 179, 1.

2. The converse takes place in *frohtende* 8. 26; *frohtendum* I 18. 5.

III. r (rr) corresponds to Gmc. z in : gecuron 13. 48; gecoren 20. 16 (with grammatical change); eare 10. 27; mara 12. 6; geheras I 19. 18; to rd in reord 26. 73; to zn in (ber)ern 6. 26; to rz in merras 22. 29.

r has disappeared in : endebrēdnis I 2. 16; gevixla I 3. 1; in the comparative ældra : ældo 16. 1; aldom I 2. 4; aeldo-menn 21. 45; ðafo (pauperes) 26. 11; fade (pater) 6. 4 (2).

There is assimilation of lr to ll in sella 12. 12 (beside sellra 10. 31); of sr to ss in læssa 11. 11; and sr>ss is simplified to s in wyr̄s 9. 16.

r has been inserted in efērn 14. 15; woestern 4. 1; fæst'rn I 16. 8 (v. Lea § 86; F. § 31).

Between r and f o is inserted in ðorofra 26. 17 (§ 48).

§ 32. 1.

l in all positions occurs commonly, and is often geminated. Examples are : lytel 5. 19; tungla 16. 3; halsa 26. 63; slepe 1. 24; flod 24. 39; wille 26. 39; sellra 10. 31; allen 20. 6; selle 5. 31; v. also § 45.

loccte 13. 35 is obscure, unless there has been change of r and l (v. § 4).

nl>ll occurs in ællef I 22. 9, &c.

Metathesis of l occurs in : fetelsum 25. 4; gyrdils 3. 4; recels 2. 11.

For the l in fihles v. Lea § 87; in ðrael 24. 48 v. Björkman, Scand. Loan-Words in ME. p. 19.

Unexplained : lvgena I 1. 8.

§ 33. m.

m stands for the labial nasal, and is frequent in all positions: færmo 22. 8; longsum I 5. 7; meg 20. 13; wæstmum 7. 16.

Gemination occurs in hwommas I 6. 3; huommum 6. 5; and is simplified in unawoemdo 19. 12; m is doubled by the scribe in amm 8. 9; v. § 45.

m has disappeared before the voiceless spirant f in fifo 25. 3; fifta I 3. 16; and has been omitted by the scribe in wisdo 11. 19.

m occurs for n in ceafertum 26. 58; and n for m in: ðen 28. 14; allen 20. 6; m has been inserted by the scribe in tom I 18. 19.

§ 34. n.

I. n as dental nasal occurs in: nacod 25. 36; ongunne 14. 30; sendas 7. 6; cuen 12. 42.

n is geminated in: henne 23. 37; cynn 3. 7; v. § 45.

II. n as guttural nasal occurs in: singe 26. 34; tungul 2. 2; gesprang I 7. 5; long 8. 30; v. Kal. § 98 a.

III. Loss of n before voiceless spirants and Pre-Gmc. h occurs in: toð 5. 38; teða 8. 12; oðer 2. 12; soð I 2. 7; husul 12. 7; muð 12. 34; cuðe 1. 25; cuð, cyðic 26. 73; in the unstressed syllable (fræ)ceðo 22. 6 (S. § 186, anm. 3; PG. p. 391, § 86); in: ūs 6. 11; usic 8. 25; swiðe 11. 20; uðuta 7. 29; pisa 23. 4; grist(bittung) 13. 42; pislice 13. 15; geohton 5. 12; æfist 27. 18 (S. ibid.); brohte 17. 16; ðohte 1. 20; stið 25. 4; -nise 19. 8; yðum 8. 24.

There is loss of n between consonants in genemde I 16. 3. nl becomes ll in ællef I 22. 9; ællefta 20. 6, 9.

mn appears as fn in efne (hymnus) 26. 30; cf. S. § 193, 2.

IV. Loss of final n is a characteristic of North. and occurs in: 1. weak nouns: hearta 5. 28; sunna 5. 45.

2. inf. and pret. opt. pl.: sprecca 10. 20; beara 3. 11; genomo 22. 15; woere 11. 23; nere I 17. 8.

3. adverbs: binna 23. 25; ufa 4. 6; uta 26. 29; buta 5. 20; beienda 9. 20; hwona 13. 56, &c.

Final n has been lost in: seofo I 20. 13, &c.; eftso 4. 7; aro 6. 26 (4); wero I 8. 6; f'ðo 5. 19 (2); gesoge (pp.) I 6. 12; and medially in: gefragade 2. 16; gefraigende I 20. 3; ondspyre 17. 27, &c. (2); untuende (aperta) 27. 52.

cynig 2. 2, &c. (24) occurs beside cyninga 11. 8, &c. (10); v. B. §§ 307, 561.

The preposition *on* is shortened to *a* (§ 25).

n for *m* appears in *fotsconol* 22. 24; *allen* (ds.) 20. 6, both scribal errors.

n is due to scribal error in: *onfne* 10. 14 mg.

Unexplained: *nēvdē* I 4. 3.

CHAPTER VIII. LABIALS

§ 35. p.

I. Initial *p* occurs in: *pricle* 5. 18; *plægde* 11. 7; and in the following loanwords: *papa* I 4. 12; *penning* 20. 2; *petrus* I 20. 5; *pinerum* 18. 34; *pinenne* 8. 29; *pinn* I 2. 18; *pisa* 23. 4; *pīslice* 13. 15; *plontade*, *plontunc* 15. 13; *port* 7. 14; *preo* I 10. 8 mg.; *pvnderv* I 2. 3; *plæcena* 6. 5; and the compound: *heafudponnes* 27. 33; *puul(sper)* 11. 7 (§ 5).

II. Medial and final *p* occur frequently: *gespilles* 6. 20; *huoelpas* 15. 27; *hearpas* I 8. 2; *scip* 12. 12; *wop* 8. 12. Loanwords: *apostol* I 6. 17; *discipul* 27. 57; *senepes* 13. 31; *papa* I 4. 12; *biscopa* 2. 4, &c.

b occurs for *p* in *forebiscob* 1. 18 mg.; *p* corresponds to Latin *ph* in *iosep* 1. 24. Original *p+t* = *ft*: *sceafta* I 14. 9.

p has disappeared in: *salmes* I 21. 14.

For *pp* v. § 45.

Unexplained: *gefræpgedon* 12. 10; *fræppigdon* 21. 37; v. *Lea pp.* 68, 123; NED. 'frap.'

§ 36. b.

The voiced labial stop *b* occurs initially, and medially with gemination, and finally in the combination *mb*: *boc* 5. 31; *breng* 8. 4; *nabbas* 6. 1; *sibb* 10. 13; *dumb* 12. 22; *lomb* I 8. 2; *womb* 15. 17; *ympcerr* 1. 11; v. also § 45.

Inorganic *b* inserted between *m* and *r* occurs regularly in *timbrende* 21. 42, &c.

Final *b* in *ymb* remains with one exception, *ymsaldon*

27. 28 (S. § 190, anm.); b has been omitted by the scribe in wom 12. 40; b in nabfde I 19. 14 is due to scribal error, unless this be an attempt to etymologize!

Unexplained: baeligniso 20. 13.

§ 37. f.

The letter f is used as the sign both of the voiceless and voiced labio-dental spirant.

I. Voiceless f: flesc 16. 17; fiond 5. 25; sceaftha I 14. 9; fif I 19. 15.

II. Voiced f: uulfes 17. 15; fifo 25. 3 where f corresponds to a Gmc. f; and in: wifa 19. 8; erfeðo 26. 10; hlaferd 9. 38; ofer 2. 9, where f corresponds to Gmc. b (S. § 192, 2).

The letter b, where WS. has f, occurs in: dioble 6. 24; feberadlum 8. 15; ebolsung 12. 31 (beside efolsungas 26. 65).

f doubled by a following j gives bb: gehebbes 12. 11.

f appears in proper names for ph: iosep 1. 24.

f has disappeared in ðorleasa 25. 30 (B. § 533, g).

Unexplained: forf 19. 21.

CHAPTER IX. DENTALS

§ 38. t.

The voiceless dental stop t is common in all positions: til 26. 31; writ I 2. 14; mæhto 28. 18; lustes 5. 32; trymes 17. 27; twoelf, 19. 28. Geminated t occurs in: settas 5. 15; sittende 20. 30; doubled by the scribe in wuritta I 1. 2; ðreattas 15. 30; v. § 45.

Original t+r = ttr in: bitterlice 26. 75 (S. § 228); simplified in: lutorlice I 8. 8; snootre 7. 24.

WS. tl appears as tl, tul, dl, ðel, ðil in: seatla 19. 28 (3); seatul 23. 2; sedlum I 20. 20 (3); seðel 19. 28 (3); hehseðil 5. 34 (S. § 196, 2); v. also § 40.

d varies with t, td in: *ædeawe* 13. 25, &c. (19) (beside *æteawes* I 9. 19, &c. (9)); *ædgeadre* 13. 29, &c. (3) (beside *ætgeadre* I 1. 6); *ætdeaude* 1. 2, &c. (3). Furthermore d, td, dt, d(d), ð instead of t occur in: *geðreadade* 8. 26; *ðreaddende* I 17. 4; *ðrēad* 26. 47 (2); *eftedwidon* 21. 42; *tit* I 5. 4; *ðit* 8. 13; *sexdig* 13. 23, &c. (2); *heafut* 21. 42; *huætd* 8. 29, &c. (3); *huædd* 19. 20; *eftgebōedte* I 18. 5; v. also §§ 39, 40.

WS. *legetsleht* appears as *leigeðslaehatas* I 8. 3.

t has disappeared in: *soðfæsnisse* 3. 15 (B. § 533, a); *gidyrsgindum* I 2. 2; *wædæl* 24. 27; *gaas* I 7. 17; *maas* 23. 11 (the last two, scribal errors).

d in *gefæsdon* 9. 15 is exceptional; cf. S. § 405, anm. 10.

Lat. t appears as d in *æcced* 27. 48; and as c in *plæcena* 6. 5 (S. § 205, anm. 1).

Unexplained: *hwastana* I 20. 15; *toge* 5. 9 mg.

§ 39. d.

The voiced dental stop d occurs frequently in all positions: *beada* 28. 8; *dead* 2. 19; *driht'* 8. 6; *eftcerrde* 2. 12; *dwala* I 3. 12; geminated in: *biddo* 26. 36; *biwoedded* 1. 18; doubled by scribe in: *boddages* 11. 5; v. § 45.

ld corresponds to Got. ld in: *caldes* 10. 42; *hald* 19. 17; *hehstalde* 25. 7; *gold* 2. 11; for ld = Got. lþ v. § 40.

lld appears as ll in; *tuufalllice* I 16. 7; *monigfallice* I 6. 13; *monigfallocru* 5. 37; *seofofallice* I 19. 7.

After voiceless consonants d becomes t in the pret. of the wk. vbs. Cl. I, as in: *gesette* (13); *tonuicte* I 8. 15; *eggeeecte* I 19. 10; *gemoette* 20. 6; *geboeta* 4. 24. An exception to this rule occurs in: *geslepde* 8. 24. Furthermore, d remains before and after a voiceless consonant in: *gebledsade* 14. 19; *mildheortnisse* 9. 13; *gidsunges* 6. 24 mg.; *gescrencde* 13. 6; *genealecde* 8. 19; but has disappeared in *milsia* I 20. 14; *milsades* 18. 33.

t for d is written in: heafut 21. 42; gloetas I 7. 18; heartlice I 9. 11; lät 15. 14; wuotetlice 3. 11, &c.; also in the pret. and past part. of wk. vbs., as in: gesendet 23. 37; gewohtat 23. 34; gelaðat 21. 11; gesetet I 9. 11; bilyrtet 2. 16; getrahtet 1. 23; geboetat, eftge-, I 9. 11; I 2. 2, &c.; geembihattun I 5. 3; gecunñate I 5. 2. - ^{1v}

td for d occurs in metdmaasta 23. 45 mg.

ð for d is written in: ðeglihe 24. 3; ðruncnende I 19. 16; ðringe 25. 37; ðruncnum 24. 49; ðærste 13. 33; ðærstes I. 20. 2; cueðenðo 21. 15; ðoes 24. 48; ðyðe 25. 5; ðepeð 26. 23; ðiowl 13. 19; cueðon (pret.) 15. 1; cuoeðon 12. 38; gegearwað (pp.) 25. 34; tosceaða 19. 6; tið 9. 22 (2); reða I 1. 8; also in the proper names: dauið I 21. 14; dauiðes 9. 27, &c.; beðsaiða 11. 21; heroðes 2. 7, &c.; iuðas 26. 14 (2); zebeðies 10. 2; v. also § 38, 40.

d has disappeared in: unsefuntig I 2. 4, &c. (2); hronsparnas 10. 29; monigfulsumnise 25. 19, in which three cons. come together; and has been omitted by the scribe in: beheal 14. 19; hælen 4. 10 (2); cuoeðen 13. 35.

After a cons. + d, t, the d is lost, as in: ðyrste 25. 42; gefæste 4. 2; gescildon I 5. 9; geræste I 6. 14; geræstun 9. 10; geoehton 5. 12; also in the proclitic ond (S. § 198, anm. 2).

d + t is simplified to t in hunteantigisiða I 20. 17; feltun 15. 17.

A parasitic d after l occurs in asalda 18. 6 (Lea § 96, 4).

For WS. lædin occurs latines I 2. 18, &c.

d stands in grammatical change with ð (§ 47).

§ 40. ð.

The dental spirant is as a rule denoted by ð, which occurs in all positions, as in: cyðað 26. 62; ðu 27. 13; ðræl 24. 48; worðe 5. 20; geminated in: siðða I 9. 12; oððe 17. 25; v. § 45.

In proper names ð is sometimes written for th: beðsaída 11. 21; scaríðoð 26. 14; natzareðes 4. 13.

þ is used in the abbreviation þ to denote ðæt I 7. 2, &c.; also in: þte 1. 29, &c.; þte 26. 29.

th for ð occurs in: threatta 8. 18; inthing I 6. 5.

Original lþ and original þl after a long vowel become ld, dl: gold 2. 11; fel(d)tun 15. 17; wilde 13. 27; wuldor 16. 27; adla 28. 4; nedles 19. 24; widlas 12. 5; also in the short-syllable word: sedlum I 20. 20; seatla 19. 28.

tþ, dþ become tt, which is simplified after consonants, as in: ðætte 11. 23; mæhtu 5. 36; wiltu 26. 17; also in latuas 15. 14, &c. (if < *lād- ðēow-).

ð + ð = ðð in: læððo 6. 24 (beside læðo 5. 43 (2); laæððo 20. 13; wuraððo 3. 7); miððon 13. 21; miððy (120).

s + ð becomes st, as in: gesiistu 7. 3 (2); cuiðestu 7. 9; cneðestu 7. 4; ofgæstu 5. 26.

ð + d remains unchanged, as in: wuræððe 18. 34; clæððon 25. 36; fcyððe I 21. 12.

ðð = hð in mohða 6. 19 (S. § 199, anm. 2).

ð corresponds to WS. d in: hræðe 8. 16; hræðe 13. 20 (beside hrædlice 8. 32); hundrað 18. 12, &c. (8) (beside hundrades I 19. 9; v. Björkman, Scand. Loan-Words in ME. p. 163); mið I 1. 3 (beside mid 26. 72; cf. also miððy above); and to WS. t in leigeðslaechtas I 8. 3.

d is occasionally written for ð, as in: hædno 6. 32, &c. (5) (beside hæðna 20. 25, &c. (3)); sodlice 5. 22; sod I 17. 3; hæled I 20. 7; cuedo 17. 20; cuedes 21. 21; forecwoedende I 6. 9; gcueada 7. 22; teancuedendum 5. 44; ofswided I 16. 8; gewordade 9. 18; bidencanne I 21. 20; daem 5. 37; dec 21. 19; hæled (3 sg.) I 20. 7; ð changes with t in intinge I 1. 10, &c. (2) (beside inðing 19. 10, &c. (5)); trinise I 16. 7 (beside ðrinise Mk. I 2. 9); v. also §§ 38, 39.

Inorganic ð appears in hið (np.) 22. 19.

In larua 8. 19 (if < *lār-ðēow-) ð has disappeared.

ð stands in grammatical change with d (§ 47).

§ 41. s.

s appears frequently in all positions: lysnas 13. 18; scenc 10. 42; ricsað 20. 25; sex 17. 1; losing 7. 13; geminated in: sallmess 6. 4; cyssende 26. 48; v. § 45.

rs is assimilated to rr in wyrresto 12. 45; and sr to ss in ðassa 25. 45 mg. For ðassum 10. 42; ðasum 18. 6 v. Paul, *Beit. VI*, 64.

þc is written for st in: bæþcere I 16. 5 (v. § 1; cf. B. § 521); c for s in: bræccceic 17. 15; bræcceic (?) I 20. 7; ceatlas 21. 12; ð for s in ðeðe 3. 3 (5) (S. § 337, anm. 4); sh and sch for sc in: shya I 6. 6; schyldo I 17. 12; bischeid I 9. 13 (showing the palatal character of sc; v. PG. p. 934 ff.; Dieter, p. 253).

s occurs for v in lesincg I 6. 4; and for r in ures 6. 9.

s has been omitted by the scribe in: f'egden I 9. 2; oflae 10. 28.

The fricative ts is denoted by z, tz in the proper names: zacharies 23. 35; zebeþeos 4. 21 (beside sebedæis I 20. 20); nazaresca 2. 23; natzareðes 4. 13; chorazaim 11. 21; belzebub 12. 24; zabulones 4. 13; gezemani 26. 36.

s stands in grammatical change with r (§ 47).

CHAPTER X. VELARS AND PALATALS

§ 42. c.

Velar and palatal voiceless c occurs frequently in all positions: carr 7. 24; culfre 3. 16; ciccenno 23. 37; cepe 13. 45; caegas 16. 19; cyrtlas 10. 10; blæc 5. 36; scenc 10. 42; ærce 24. 38; hæcla 5. 40; cweð 21. 31; cræft 25. 24; cnæht 2. 9; fisc 7. 10; eeig 20. 8; geminated in: wæccas 24. 42; doubled by scribe in: wäcc 12. 20; gebrucca 6. 25; v. § 45.

h for final c occurs in: ah I 17. 18 (49) (beside ac 16. 13); ih 26. 22; meh 8. 21 (33); usih 8. 29; ðeh 4. 6; rehtlih 19.

3; iuh 11. 9; iwh 26. 21; iwuh 26. 55; iuuh 22. 31; iwihs 28. 7; iowih 26. 32; iowh 26. 11; for medial c in mihil 4. 16 v. B. § 567. ch and g for c occur in: ich I 1. 9; mech I 1. 1; usich 6. 13; carchern 25. 36; michelo 8. 24; michil 10. 42 (2); huulig 8. 27; deiglige I 17. 6; hygdiglige 19. 12; ūsig 15. 23; channanesca 15. 22. Before t, c becomes h in lehtunum 28. 23 mg.

ch (= Lat. ch, = k) occurs in chorazaim 11. 21; hiericho 20. 20; hesichio I 2. 11 (Brown, Pt. II, p. 32).

In the combination nc, g and gc occur for c, as in: wlong 27. 57 (B. § 489); gescriungon 13. 6; dringe (sb.) 10. 42, &c. (2); dringes 11. 19, &c. (4); ðengcas 9. 4; tostengeid 26. 31; v. Bülbring, Angl. Beib. IX, 75-76; cf. § 43.

Palatalization is indicated by the writing of cg for c after a short vowel (Bülbring, ibid.; EB. § 495, anm. 2), as in: bæcgling I 3. 10; (ge)bræcg 26. 26; tiegenum 25. 32.

cs instead of x occurs in: ricses 2. 6, &c. (2); and c for s in ceatlas 21. 12. For the c in plæcena 6. 5 v. § 38.

Inorganic c occurs in cæsstra 21. 2.

c is omitted in grecis I 2. 1; crecis I 8. 2.

For sc v. § 41.

§ 43. g.

g occurs commonly in all positions. Examples are: halga 27. 52; gemo 8. 7; hrægle 27. 28; græfe 21. 13; hogo 25. 9; hunig 3. 4; gedrugde 21. 20; gælso 13. 22; giwas 20. 22.

Geminated g is written g, c, cg, gc, cc, gg, as in: bycganne 25. 10; hrycgas 13. 7; hrygum 13. 7 (beside hryum 7. 16); hryⁿic I 17. 18; f'hycga 23. 23; forhycganne I 20. 11; wecg I 20. 9; sæcgas, eft-, 28. 10; 2. 8; sægca 28. 8; sægcas 16. 15; byccað 14. 15; bibyccenda I 21. 3; liccende 9. 2; wiðsæcces 26. 34; v. Hempl Angl. XXII, 375 ff. for the significance of the manner of writing.

g is doubled by the scribe in tuigge 24. 32, &c.; v. § 45.

For *byrig*, *burig*, *burug*, *gebirigde*, *bibyrgnissa*, *fylegdon* v. § 48.

Final *g* after a long guttural vowel passes into *h* in *noh* 25. 9; *genoh* 10. 25; after a long palatal vowel, in *hehstald* 1. 23 (cf. F. p. 55); after a short vowel in unstressed syllables in: *sextih* 13. 23; *sexdeih* 13. 8; *ðrittih* 26. 15, &c. (4); *baersninniho* 9. 12; v. B. § 556.

The combination *gh*, *hg* occurs for *g* in: *woestihg* 14. 15; *onrighnise* I 7. 4 (cf. Skeat's text); v. S. § 214, anm. 5.

According to S. § 392, 2 the *h* in *ðuoh* 27. 24 is to be judged by S. § 214, anm. 1; yet cf. F. p. 55.

Medial *g* is lost, and lengthening is the result in: *meiden* 9. 24; *maiden* 9. 25, &c. (2); *mædne* 14. 11; *maeden* I 18. 10; *merne* 21. 18; *gehrine* I 2. 13; *ongeaen* 25. 1; *ongæn* 25. 6; v. S. § 214, 3; B. § 530.

Final *g* has disappeared in: *sunnadæ* 12. 18; *we* 10. 10.

The ending *-ig* is shortened to *i* medially and finally in: *sundria* I 9. 17; *syndrio* I 17. 12; *efenmeti* 26. 26; *drui* I 19. 1; *dryi* 12. 10; *dryia* 12. 43; *cyni* 18. 23. *-ig* has disappeared in *baersynnum* I 14. 2; cf. also *hryum* 7. 16 in the second paragraph of this section.

c is written for *g* in *eyðic* 26. 73.

g in the combination *ng* appears as *c*, *cg*, *gc*, in: *hyncerdon* 12. 1; *cepinc* 22. 5; *ceigunc* I 15. 1; *f'emerinc*, *mercunes* I 9. 19; *plontunc* 15. 13; *suigiunc* 24. 28; *ðoncunco* 26. 27; *winnuncum* I 19. 10; *esprynca* I 6. 14; *gemenced* 27. 34; *gespranc* I 6. 2; *spranc* 9. 26 mg.; *spync* 27. 48; *hyncgrað* 5. 6, &c. (3); *hinegrig*, *gehyncgerde* 25. 35, &c. (3); *abloncgne* 26. 8; *ernincg* I 14. 7; *gristbiotungc* 24. 9; *lesincg* I 6. 4; *ðreatuncg* I 18. 9; *costuncg* 24. 9; *stencum* 26. 55 (2); *ðuuengcu* 23. 5; *gimencged* I 8. 9; *hyngcerde* 21. 18; *espryngce* I 2. 11; *tungla* 16. 3; v. Bülbring, Angl. Beib. IX, 76; cf. § 42. *g* changes with *c* in: *gregisc* I 1. 3, &c. (beside *crecisc* I 2. 8, &c.); v. also § 42.

Inorganic *g* occurs in *gwona* 19. 20; *wgloana* I 19. 16.

Unexplained: *lvgnca* I 1. 8.

§ 44. h.

h is common before all vowels, and occurs in the combinations hl, hr, hn, hw. For the sound-value of h v. Lind. § 44. As in the Dur. Rit., so in Mt., h occurs in the above combinations, and sometimes before vowels where it is not etymologically correct; on the other hand, historical h is sometimes omitted before l, r, n, w.

The examples of inorganic h are: before l: *hlafe* I 21. 12; *hlifigende* 27. 36, &c. (6); *hlætmesto* 27. 64, &c. (10); *gehlutes* 8. 20; *hlaðas* 22. 4; *gehlaðad*, *toge-*, 22; 3. 8; *hlatuas* 23. 16, &c. (2); *hleofa* 23. 32; before r: *hrahton* 26. 50; *hras* 8. 32; *hræfneð* 6. 24; *gehrestas* 8. 11; *hreconlice* 28. 8; *hregnað* 5. 45; *hrihð* I 2. 4; *hrippo* 25. 26, &c. (2); *hriordadun* 25. 37; *gehriordad* I 19. 15; *hripes* 7. 2, &c. (5); *hripemenn* 18. 39, &c. (2); *hripnis* 18. 29; *hryno* 13. 11; *hrypes*, *ge-*, 6. 19; 12. 29; *hrust* 6. 20; *gehrine* I 2. 13; before n: *hnett* 4. 18; *togehnealacede* 8. 2; *gehnehuade* 10. 7; before s: *hogahscip* I 8. 13; before vowels: *hearo* 13. 43; *haaldum* 5. 21; *his* I 4. 6 (2); *haldormenn* 8. 13; *herning* I 18. 10; *heofone* (*clibanus*) 6. 30; *ædheaw* 15. 15; *æthewene* I 1. 11.

h has been dropped before l in: *lingendes* 26. 7; *gelionodon* 14. 9; *lutorlice* I 8. 8; *lydeng* 25. 6; *lysnas* 18. 8; before r in: *rof* 8. 8; *reafa* 26. 6; before w in *wer* I 21. 3 (B. § 480, anm.); before a vowel in: *iorodes* 13. 52; *fogas* 6. 24; *unsefuntig* I 2. 4, &c. (2); is l. 21 (2).

Initial h has disappeared in: *nabbas* 14. 17, &c.; *booflic* I 5. 8; in the second member of the compounds: *ondeto* 7. 23; *eofut* 18. 25; *ebalsas* 9. 3.

- Medial h appears as g in *wigbed* 23. 19 (S. § 222, anm. 1).

Medial h and hw are lost before vowels, as in: *ðyryl* I 6. 1; *onfoeð* 7. 8; *seas* 13. 17; *scoea* 10. 10; *gsceoe* 3. 11; *woes* 22. 18; *gesiïð* 6. 4 (S. § 166, 6); *ea* 7. 25; *eftatea* I 1. 6; *fleas* 23. 33; *getwiedon* 28. 17; *ðwas* 15. 2; *tenu*

I 1. 1, &c.; slæs 5. 39; suer 18. 24; holas (?) 8. 20 (B. § 529); suire 18. 6 (S. § 218, anm. 1; B. § 529); huelum I 8. 1 (B. § 217).

Geminated h does not occur; simplified hh is found in: nestpoha 10. 10; ehera 12. 1 (S. § 220, anm. 1).

ht as a rule remains unchanged, as in: biboht 26. 9; næhta 4. 2, &c.; exceptions are: trachterum I 2. 1; embichta I 5. 4; getachte I 17. 4; ðocht I 7. 16; recta I 7. 17 (2); tocnuicte I 3. 15; embigto 25. 44.

hs appears regularly as x in: wæxas 6. 28; lixeð 13. 43; lixung I 16. 13; givixla I 3. 1; sex 17. 1; but h is lost in wæstmas 7. 18; sestre 5. 15; seista I 3. 16 (S. § 221, 2).

For ðð, hð occurs in mohða 6. 19 (S. § 199, anm. 2).

h remains, if, through vowel-syncope, a surd consonant follows, as in gesihða 17. 9.

On the other hand h disappears between a vowel and a voiced consonant, as in: fleam (?) 24. 20 (S. § 222, 2; Cos.¹ § 59, 7); gesene 6. 16; wglöana I 19. 16; hera 11. 11; v. S. § 166, 6; in the compounds heannisum 21. 9 (S. § 222, anm. 2); neoleces 26. 46; but h remains in: genehwas 19. 5; fihles 9. 16 (S. § 222, anm. 4).

Final h and h(=hw) are regularly preserved, as in: feh 27. 6; fleh 2. 13; ofslah 5. 21; onfoh 2. 13; geseh 8. 4; wohfull 18. 32.

Final h appears as hg in: wohgfull 20. 15; as gh in: heghstald I 14. 11; heghseðel 23. 22; gesægh 2. 16; v. also § 43.

h and hw appear as ch, chw in: chim I 22. 10; chusæt 18. 18; chua 5. 41; chusæt 18. 19; chuelc 15. 20 (2); chwæm I 9. 13; v. B. § 480.

For the interchange of h and c v. § 42.

h of Lat. hymnus has disappeared in efne 26. 30.

Unexplained: atih 18. 27.

CHAPTER XI. MISCELLANEOUS PHENOMENA

§ 45. Gemination of Consonants.

In the matter of consonant gemination, there is apparently great irregularity in Mt., as in the other Gospels. Instead of an etymologically single consonant, the geminated form occurs; and sometimes etymological gemination is simplified, though this occurs less often.

Luick (*Archiv. CII*, p. 58 ff.) finds in this apparent irregularity the written evidence of the change of vowel-length already begun in L. North., and developed in ME. According to him, the lengthening of short final consonants occurs after a short, strongly-stressed vowel, without full length being yet attained, as in: *vritt* I 2. 15; *gebedd* 17. 21; *scipp* 8. 24. Through analogy, then, is explained the common occurrence of forms with medial gemination, as in *w^uriotto* 26. 54, &c.

Furthermore, Luick deduces three general facts which seem to have escaped Füchsel, and which should be noted here:

1. Etymological gemination in the four Gospels is for the most part preserved; variation occurs as a rule in syllables of secondary stress, as in: *deadsynig* 5. 21; *cneorese* 7. 11; *mesapreasta* 2. 4, &c.

2. Etymologically single consonants are doubled frequently after short syllables, seldom after long.

3. Etymologically single medial consonants remain single before another consonant (I note as exceptions: *fyllennda* I 17. 18; *godcunndmæhtea* 19. 28; *sellennde* I 17. 13, which may be regarded as scribal errors), but frequently occur doubled between vowels, especially after short vowels, and occasionally after long ones. This gemination happens oftenest with *t*, *c*, *p*, *m*. Of the remaining consonants *d* and *s* are many times doubled, but only in a few words, and never in the majority of cases.

These general considerations are most appropriate for this study. For the more detailed results of Luick's research, the reader is referred to the article itself. It may be added, that inasmuch as Luick has given the numerical proportion between the writing of words with gemination and those without, it seems unnecessary to record all the passages in Mt. where these phenomena occur.

1. Germanic gemination of l occurs in: sæltwælla I 1. 7; gespilles 6. 20; scillinga 18. 28; fulle 23. 25; godspell 4. 23; fallas 4. 9; fæll 7. 27; gefaellnise 1. 12 (B. § 175); all 3. 10; galla 27. 34; fillenu 3. 4; fulle (amphora) 26. 7; of r in: stearra I 16. 3; fearr 16. 22; carr 17. 19; cerre 12. 44; afirres 7. 23; torr 2. 33; gesparrado (WGmc.?) 6. 6; farras 22. 4; of tt. in: bytto 9. 17 (v. PG. p. 335); of n in: gewunna 26. 53; conn 26. 72; cunnade 1. 25; onginnes I 3. 18; monn 17. 8; mennisces I 17. 7; pinn I 2. 18; winnes 11. 28; acenned 1. 20, sunna 5. 45; penning 20. 2; blinnes 24. 12; of m in: hwommas I 6. 3; of s in: cyssende 26. 48; wisse 27. 18; of ðð in: oððe 17. 25 (S. § 226); of p in: geyppe 18. 25.

2. WGmc. gemination before j occurs in: wæccas 24. 42; biddo 26. 36; henne 23. 37; bycgranne 25. 10; liccende 8. 14; sæcgas 28. 10; wille 26. 39; synno 9. 2; cynn 3. 7; mett 6. 25; sittende 20. 30; aewelled 15. 4; sibbe 10. 34; bewoedded 1. 18; middangeard 18. 7; middel I 2. 6; tomiddes I 2. 6; forhyeganne I 20. 11; recceras I 2. 11; reccenise, cynn-, I 2. 7; 1. 18; hrycgas 18. 7; helle 11. 23; habbað 21. 26; læssa 11. 11; getrymmas I 17. 5; sella 7. 6; netta 4. 20; ellðiodig 25. 14; geduellas 22. 29; nytt 21. 3.

fj>bb in gehebbes 12. 11; rzj>rr in merras 22. 29; zlj>lb in cnyllas 7. 7; lr> sella 12. 12.

3. Gemination, as the result of the coming together of two originally separated consonants, occurs in læððo 6. 24; clænnise 10. 8 mg.; efennise I 19. 12; geleafful 24. 45; leafful 25. 21; efttatea I 1. 6; gemænnise I 7. 3; minne

10. 22; ðinne 9. 14; stænna 26. 7; underra I 9. 9; genneddon 27. 32; oðerra I 8. 17; gemoette 20. 6; gehydde 25. 25; gelædde 27. 3; byrðenna 23. 4, &c.; enne 5. 18.

4. Gemination of simple consonants after a short vowel occurs as in: ageætt 26. 7; agotten 9. 17; accenned 2. 2; accennise I 22. 13; æcced 27. 48; assales I 21. 2; avritti I 3. 4; awrittena I 7. 3; awritten 2. 5, &c.; bæccum 23. 4; blaccum I 4. 2; begettes 17. 27, &c.; bisseno I 18. 20, &c.; boddages 11. 5; brydloppum 25. 10; camella 3. 4; clioppæs 12. 19; cotte 6. 6; cymmeð 24. 5; ettes 11. 19, &c.; frumma I 5. 3, &c.; geatt 16. 18; gearrwas 17. 13; gebedd 17. 21; gebrecceð 21. 44; genimmæs 4. 6, &c.; geocc 11. 30; gewutta I 9. 1, &c.; gewarpp I 21. 3; gristbittung (?) 18. 42, &c.; hnædd 19. 20; inn 11. 23, &c. (occurring doubled frequently as prefix); lattera 12. 45; meregrotta 7. 6 (3); mynittre 22. 19; nomma I 2. 12; bæcgling (?) I 3. 10 (cf. B. § 495, anm. 2; F. p. 57); sabbat' 12. 11, &c. (2); sæccendum I 20. 20, &c.; scipp 8. 24, &c.; ðætt 13. 20; sætt 26. 55, &c.; sprecca 10. 20, &c.; stocc 6. 2; summum 26. 18, &c.; tuigge 24. 32, &c.; ðæcille 5. 15, &c.; ungerecc 26. 5; uðuutta 8. 19, &c.; waccen 14. 25; uinwirccendum I 21. 8; wlittig 23. 27; wæss 1. 19; wossa 20. 27; wossanne 17. 4; writtsæx I 2. 18; wuritta I 1. 2, &c.; wutta (inf.) I 3. 4, &c.; toslitten 9. 16, &c.; amm 8. 9, &c.; biðð 26. 54; bræcg 26. 26 (cf. bæcgling above); gebrecca 14. 19; nimmende I 10. 3, &c.; arras 9. 25, &c.; sceaccas 10. 14; uracco I 1. 9.

5. Gemination of consonants after originally long vowels occurs in (§ 23, VIII): étt 11. 18; ècce 25. 41; eccanne I 1. 9; casseræs 22. 21; f'letta I 19. 4, &c.; geboettande I 3. 8; gebrucca 6. 25; gehatten I 2. 16; gett 17. 5 (B. § 549, anm.); huætte 13. 30; lyttel 2. 6, &c.; nann I 2. 8; neddes I 1. 1; oððer I 9. 11; sellra 10. 31 (B. § 339); slittað I 1. 18, &c.; soeccanna I 1. 13; suppas 16. 28; ciccenø 23. 37 (B. § 195); ðreattas 15. 30, &c.; ðreaddende I 17. 4; wæcc 12. 20; ðrittig 13. 8; herranne 13. 9; inwritting I 4. 8;

gefittes 12. 19, &c.; fitta I 1. 12; perhaps the loanword: allmissa I 17. 6; ællmessa 6. 4 (v. §§ 1, 17). For the gemination in bitterlice 26. 75 v. S. § 228.

6. Simplification of gemination does not as a rule occur at the end of a word; v. examples in the paragraphs above; it does occur in: men 26. 18; geðen 12. 13; wohful 13. 38; wigbed 5. 23; ænigmon, aldon-, 12. 19; 1. 18 mg.; wil 5. 40; hruycic I 7. 18; met 3. 4; sel 5. 42; also quite often in the suffix, -nis: aleseñis 20. 28; degolnis 6. 6; endeþrednis I 2. 16; foresægdnis I 2. 16; herenis I 6. 10; hriþnis 13. 29; ond-spýrnis 18. 7; ongelices I 17. 7; setnes I 13. 9; smirinis 26. 12; unfegernis 24. 15 mg.; unrehtwîsnis 24. 12; wifgiornis 15. 19; wiðirweardnis I 2. 2.

7. Gemination is frequently simplified in the interior of words at the end of a syllable, as in: alne 27. 27; alra I 3. 12 (3); midla I 14. 15; mine 18. 20; wohfulro 12. 45; cerde 21. 12; fulwiht 3. 7; unawoemdo 19. 12; wuraðo 3. 7; frumcende 1. 25; læðo 5. 43 (2). Also, after consonants in compound words, as in: sibsume 5. 9; wohfulnise 22. 18; cynreswu I 14. 3; synfullra 11. 19; synges I 20. 13; latua 2. 6; gfylnisse I 16. 14; ungeleafulnise (S. § 231, 4) 17. 20; wyrtruma 3. 10; feltun 15. 17; giornisse I 17. 6, &c.; hun-teantigiða I 20. 17.

Simplification occurs always after r, as in: burna I 2. 10; arn 28. 9; iornende 28. 8; bernas 5. 15; ðirda 17. 23; byrn 20. 12; wuyrse 27. 64.

8. Simplification appears in unstressed syllables, as in: ondeteoð I 6. 12; deglice 20. 17; besuingene (asm.) 27. 26; gebundene 27. 2 (S. § 231, 4).

9. Furthermore, there is simplification of older gemination in: bæligniso 20. 13; diopnise 13. 11; geliorisce 28. 16, &c. (86) (beside ecnisse 21. 19; licesse 6. 27, &c. (89)); habas I 4. 9, &c.; selo 20. 4, &c.; embehtane 20. 28; ðisum 17. 20, &c.; aðenede 8. 3; bibycendum 25. 9, &c.; bidas 22. 20; cnysende 7. 8, &c.; geteled 7. 24; hrygum 13. 7; liges 8. 6, &c.; nestpoha 10. 10; onsæcas 16. 24, &c.; wæcas

26. 41; mones 5. 27; mǣta 26. 17; gesetet 3. 10, &c.; dwoelende I 20. 12; ehera I 18. 20.

The i in ripa (rippa, rioppa) is unstable (S. § 382, anm. 3); likewise in ripe (messis). The following forms occur: hrippo 25. 26; hripes 25. 24; rioppas 6. 26; hr̄ippe 13. 39; h̄ripes 9. 37 (2); h̄ripes 9. 38; hripnis, hripemenn 13. 39; h̄rippemonnum 13. 30; cf. § 3.

For loccete 13. 35; loceteð I 7. 5 v. § 4; F. § 45, p. 58; for felleread 27. 28 v. F. p. 25.

For ȝicce 13. 15, cf. B. § 497; Kl.-L., Eng. Ety.; Björkman, Scand. Loan-Words in ME. p. 147.

The cc in ticceno I 22. 3 seems to be something of a crux; cf. Wilmanns, Deutsche Gram. I² p. 169, §§ 135, 136; Kl., PG. I² p. 383, § 63; Kl., NStB. § 58, a; Kauffmann, Beit. XII, 520 ff.

Unexplained: ge græppde 14. 31; fræppigdon 21. 37; v. § 1.

§ 46. The Groups ft, ht, st.

All labials (sometimes gut.) + t = ft, ht, as in: sceaftha I 14. 9; geworhte I 2. 9; gebohton 27. 7; geðryhton I 3. 4; aht 18. 28; mǣthes 14. 25; v. S. § 407.

Dental + t = st in: gewiste 16. 18; fostrað 3. 4; ss in: wisse 27. 18.

§ 47. Grammatical Change.

Change of s and r: glaeren I 8. 3; geceas 12. 18: gecoren 20. 16; gedyrstig 22. 64 (S. § 234).

Change of ð and d: gewearð 1. 22: gewordeno I 17. 12; gecueðas 6. 31: gecwedon 10. 4; perhaps mið: mid 26. 72 (F. § 47).

Change of h and g: slæs 5. 39: slog 26. 51; monslaga I 16. 15; onfoas 10. 14: onfoeng 8. 17; gesihða 17. 9: gesegon 2. 2; getegðeges (?) 23. 23; v. § 2, II; F. § 47.

§ 48. Svarabhakti.

For the development of secondary vowels before syllabic l, r, m, n, v. § 27.

The following inorganic vowels have developed in some words with l, r, hg, ht; fylegdon 27. 55; ðorofra 26. 17; burug 12. 25; byrig 1. 3; gebirigde 27. 34; bibyrignisa 27. 7; fyrihto 28. 4; wyrihta 13. 55; worohte 19. 4; woroh-ton 20. 12; v. B. §§ 447, 448; S. § 213, anm.

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